

years ending June 30, 1969, June 30, 1970, June 30, 1971, and June 30, 1972, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mrs. SULLIVAN (for herself, Mr. PEHLBIN, Mr. FLOOD, Mr. KLUCZYNSKI, Mr. MINISH, Mr. BINGHAM, Mr. OLSEN, Mr. SLACK, Mr. ADAMS, Mr. RESNICK, Mr. MCCARTHY, Mr. ROSENTHAL, Mr. VANIK, Mr. ANDERSON of Tennessee, Mr. YATES, Mr. MURPHY of New York, Mr. BLATNIK, Mr. REES, Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania, Mr. EVANS of Colorado, Mr. GRAY, Mr. ADDABBO, Mr. RODINO, Mr. JOHNSON of California, and Mr. TUNNEY):

H.R. 17723. A bill to amend the Food Stamp Act of 1964, as amended, for the purposes of authorizing appropriations for the fiscal years ending June 30, 1969, June 30, 1970, June 31, 1971, and June 30, 1972, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mrs. SULLIVAN (for herself, Mr. DAWSON, Mr. MORGAN, Mr. CAREY, Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia, Mr. LEGGETT, Mr. BROWN of California, Mr. TENZER, Mr. BUTTON, Mr. PUCINSKI, Mrs. MINK, Mr. O'HARA of Michigan, Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania, Mr. FEIGHAN, Mr. McMILLAN, Mr. HOLIFIELD, Mr. WOLFF, Mr. KYROS, Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON, Mr. JACOBS, Mr. DULSKI, Mr. NIX, Mr. SCHEUER, Mr. DIGGS, and Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania):

H.R. 17724. A bill to amend the Food Stamp Act of 1964, as amended, for the purposes of authorizing appropriations for the fiscal years ending June 30, 1969, June 30, 1970, June 30, 1971, and June 30, 1972, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mrs. SULLIVAN (for herself, Mr. CORMAN, Mrs. GRIFFITHS, Mr. HANLEY, Mr. GONZALEZ, Mr. POLLOCK, Mr. ST GERMAIN, Mr. RUPPE, Mr. GALLAGHER, Mr. SHIPLEY, Mr. DADDARIO, and Mr. VAN DEERLIN):

H.R. 17725. A bill to amend the Food Stamp Act of 1964, as amended, for the purposes of authorizing appropriations for the fiscal years ending June 30, 1969, June 30, 1970, June 30, 1971, and June 30, 1972, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. MOSS:

H.J. Res. 1293. Joint resolution creating a Joint Committee To Investigate Crime; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. WRIGHT:

H.J. Res. 1294. Joint resolution creating a Joint Committee To Investigate Crime; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. DAVIS of Georgia:

H. Con. Res. 785. Concurrent resolution relating to the pay of the U.S. Capitol Police force for duty performed in emergencies; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. CORMAN:

H. Res. 1210. Resolution that it is the sense of the House of Representatives that the United States enter into an agreement with the Government of Israel for the sale of military planes, commonly known as Phantom jet fighters, necessary for Israel's defense to an amount which shall be adequate to provide Israel with a deterrent force capable of preventing future Arab aggression by offsetting sophisticated weapons received by the Arab States, and on order for future delivery, and to replace losses suffered by Israel in the 1967 conflict; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. DAVIS of Georgia:

H. Res. 1211. Resolution to provide for an additional number of positions on the U.S. Capitol Police force for duty under the House of Representatives; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. DOW (for himself and Mr. EDWARDS of California):

H. Res. 1212. Resolution to agree to the Senate amendments to H.R. 5037 and strike titles II and III, redesignating the other titles respectively; to the Committee on Rules.

## PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ANNUNZIO:

H.R. 17726. A bill for the relief of Vincenza Spada Stracquadaneo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BARRETT:

H.R. 17727. A bill for the relief of Teresa Rosa Mirijello; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BROTZMAN:

H.R. 17728. A bill for the relief of Dr. Alfonso Z. Valle, his wife, Concepcion Cadiz Valle, and their son, Mario Valle; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MURPHY of New York:

H.R. 17729. A bill for the relief of Rev. Frank A. Burton; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 17730. A bill for the relief of Giuseppe Musumeci; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. O'HARA of Illinois:

H.R. 17731. A bill for the relief of Margarita Spaniolos; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROSENTHAL:

H.R. 17732. A bill for the relief of Anthony Hsieh; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WOLFF:

H.R. 17733. A bill for the relief of David Yorck; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

## PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

337. By the SPEAKER: Petition of Chester L. Keeley, Mount Etna, Iowa, relative to redress of grievances; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

338. Also, petition of Ernest Lee Washington, Jessup, Md., relative to redress of grievances; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

### LETTER FROM VIETNAM

#### HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, recently a very fine letter written by a resident of Springfield, Va., in my congressional district, to a younger sister in Springfield, was called to my attention.

Sps. Hans J. Walls, presently stationed in Vietnam, was responding to the letters from his sister, Maria, and her classmates, many of whom were confused as to why our boys are fighting in Vietnam today.

I commend Sps. Hans J. Walls' letter to all who read this RECORD. His letter reads as follows:

MAY 14, 1968.

DEAR MARIA: Thank you and your class for all your kind letters. They were real nice, and I liked them very much. I am sorry to hear that Patric got hurt, but I am glad that he is better.

I have written your class a letter thanking all of them for their kindness and their

thoughts of someone else. I know that it is hard for them to understand what is taking place over here. And since I have been here once before and I have told you some of the things that are happening here, maybe you can explain some of this to them. And I will try to explain it a little more as best I can.

The people (the Vietnamese) over here do not really like the Americans very much, but they had no-one else to ask for help. They are very cautious of all people like what we are, because of what the French have done to them. The French took away most of their land and ruled very badly over here and they did many bad things and these people never forgot this. The Vietnamese have been at war for most of their country's history; first with the Chinese, who ruled Viet Nam for something like 200 years before they were finally driven out. Then they had a little peace for about 70 years when the French came. They did not like the French because they do not want anyone to rule over them, they want to rule themselves. Then, the Japanese lorded over them during the second world war, and after that the French moved back again until they were thrown out in the early 1950's; then they made two Viet Nam's. North Viet Nam was where most of the industry was, and South Viet Nam was where most of the food was. The North Vietnamese, who had the backing of China and Russia, decided to try to take over South Viet Nam by force when they could not persuade them

to come over to their way of thinking. These people, who were very tired of war, tried to fight on their own, but they did not have the know how or, at that time, even the will to fight. So they asked for our help and we gave it and that is the reason to why we are here.

I have one more thing to say before I quit and that is: From the time that I was over here before and now there is a great difference in all the Vietnamese people. Before most of them would hide the VC and NVA in their homes and even give them food. But now, after the Tet Offensive which the VC and NVA staged and killed a lot of innocent people, this has stirred up feelings that had long been dormant in these people. Now they have all joined forces and are really fighting the VC and NVA with a new effort like they have never done before. They are not as good as we are, but they are finally trying and to my way of thinking, as long as they try, we should stay over here and help them. It will take time, and many people will die. But I think that they can win their Nationhood like they never have had it before.

Many people over there say that we should not be here and that we have enough troubles at home which we do. But we have always had them, maybe not as bad, but they have been there. What I think that they will try to do no matter who wins the election is to give Viet Nam away like a Brit-

ish Prime Minister did before the second world war. And just like then that will not be enough. For anyone who fights for power will not have enough until he has it all.

Well, I have told you as much as I know about it. I thought you might like to know why I am over here. The only thing else is that I think that if the U.S. put all its resources into this undeclared war they could win and get it over with.

Your brother,

HANS.

### CAN BAD LOANS BE GOOD BUSINESS?

**HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.**

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Extensions of Remarks an editorial entitled, "Can Bad Loans Be Good Business?" published in the Chicago Tribune of Wednesday, June 5, 1968. The editor of the Tribune is W. D. Maxwell.

This editorial concludes, and I fully agree, that S. 3218 now on the Senate calendar is unwise legislation and could prove very costly to already hard-pressed taxpayers.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### CAN BAD LOANS BE GOOD BUSINESS?

For the most part, the Export-Import bank has done a creditable job of facilitating our foreign trade by means of direct loans or by guaranteeing or insuring loans made by commercial lenders. Its help in arranging the financing of exports has been particularly valuable in the light of our balance-of-payments troubles. The President and Congress recognized this last March by increasing the bank's lending authority from 9 to 13.5 billion dollars.

But the latest plan to expand the bank's activities has raised some serious doubts in the minds of a good many people, including Sen. Harry F. Byrd Jr. of Virginia, who expressed them yesterday in the Senate. An administration-backed bill approved by the Senate banking and currency committee would relax the long-standing requirement that the bank limit its transactions to those in which there is a "reasonable assurance of repayment." It would authorize the bank to commit up to 500 million dollars toward more dubious ventures intended to "improve the balance of payments and foster the long-term commercial interests of the United States."

This limit would apply to the full amount of direct loans but only to 25 per cent of the bank's liability under guaranteed and insured loans. This means that the bank could guarantee up to 2 billion dollars in questionable loans. And any losses sustained by the bank beyond 100 million dollars would be made good out of the United States treasury.

As Mr. Byrd says, this is a "sharp departure from the statutory charter of the bank," and he thinks it an unwise one. How, he would like to know, can our balance of payments or commercial interests be improved by making loans which may not be repaid? And if the usual business safeguards are abandoned in the making of loans, "does this not open up the possibility of such loans being made on a political basis?" How, then would the bank draw the line, "unless it drew it along the lines of political pressure?"

Mr. Byrd's fears are well founded. Prob-

ably the worst mistake the bank has made, in more than 30 years, was in letting itself be used as a front by the defense department in financing the sale of American arms to underdeveloped countries which often couldn't even feed their own people. Congress added a rider to last spring's bill designed to stop this. Yet it is now considering issuing a new invitation to abuse and, in addition, making the United States taxpayer liable for most of the losses. This is not good business; indeed, there are already too many pipe lines siphoning American money abroad for unsound or questionable purposes. Let the Export-Import bank stick to business.

### PRESIDENT SPEAKS FOR ALL AMERICA ON THE SLAYING OF SENATOR ROBERT F. KENNEDY

**HON. JACK BROOKS**

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, last night President Johnson spoke for all America when he expressed his sadness, his shock, and his indignation over the brutal killing of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY.

The country mourns another fallen leader—and there is nothing we can say to ease the pain or to explain it away.

This madness, this senseless slaughter must be stopped.

To that end, the President appointed a bipartisan Commission, made up of distinguished citizens of many walks of life, to study this most urgent problem and to submit recommendations on how to head off future tragedies. The Commission will be headed by Dr. Milton Eisenhower, the highly respected former president of John Hopkins University.

We hope and pray that the work of the Commission will be a success.

But the President, unlike some others who have spoken out in the past 36 hours, refused to indict the Nation as a whole for this terrible deed. He said:

It would be wrong and self-deceptive to conclude from this act that our country itself is sick, that it has lost its balance, that it has lost its sense of direction, even its common decency.

200 million Americans did not strike down Robert Kennedy last night any more than they struck down John F. Kennedy in 1963 or Dr. Martin Luther King in April of this year.

I agree. While we mourn our fallen colleague, while we are determined to bring his assassin to justice, while we know that there is much to be done to avoid a repetition of such tragedies, we just must not condemn the entire Nation.

Because I believe his words are so relevant—for today and for tomorrow as well—I insert the President's moving statement of last night on the shooting of Senator KENNEDY:

#### STATEMENT OF THE PRESIDENT ON THE SHOOTING OF SENATOR ROBERT F. KENNEDY, JUNE 5, 1968

My fellow citizens, I speak to you this evening not only as your President, but as a fellow American who is shocked and dismayed, as you are, by the attempt on Senator Kennedy's life, deeply disturbed, as I know you are, by lawlessness and violence in our country, of which this tragedy is the latest spectacular example.

We do not know the reasons that inspired

the attack on Senator Kennedy. We know only that a brilliant career of public service has been brutally interrupted; that young leader of uncommon energy and dedication, who has served his country tirelessly and well, and whose voice and example have touched millions throughout the entire world has been senselessly and horribly stricken.

At this moment, the outcome is still in the balance. We pray to God that He will spare Robert Kennedy and will restore him to full health and vigor. We pray this for the Nation's sake, for the sake of his wife and his children, his father and his mother, and in memory of his brother, our beloved late President.

The Kennedy family has endured sorrow enough, and we pray that this family may be spared more anguish.

Tonight this Nation faces once again the consequences of lawlessness, hatred and unreason in its midst. It would be wrong, it would be self-deceptive, to ignore the connection between that lawlessness and hatred and this act of violence. It would be just as wrong, and just as self-deceptive, to conclude from this act that our country itself is sick, that it has lost its balance, that it has lost its sense of direction, even its common decency.

200 million Americans did not strike down Robert Kennedy last night any more than they struck down John F. Kennedy in 1963 or Dr. Martin Luther King in April of this year.

But those awful events give us ample warning that in a climate of extremism, of disrespect for law, of contempt for the rights of others, violence may bring down the very best among us. A Nation that tolerates violence in any form cannot expect to be able to confine it to just minor outbursts.

My fellow citizens, we cannot, we just must not, tolerate the sway of violent men among us. We must not permit men who are filled with hatred, and careless of innocent lives, to dominate our streets and fill our homes with fear.

We cannot sanction the appeal to violence, no matter what its cause, no matter what the grievance from which it springs.

There is never—and I say never—any justification for the violence that tears at the fabric of our national life; that inspires such fear in peaceful citizens that they arm themselves with deadly weapons; that sets citizen against citizen or group against group.

A great nation can guarantee freedom for its people and the hope of progressive change only under the rule of law. So let us, for God's sake, resolve to live under the law.

Let us put an end to violence and to the preaching of violence.

Let the Congress pass laws to bring the insane traffic in guns to a halt, as I have appealed to them time and time again to do. That will not, in itself, end the violence, but reason and experience tell us that it will slow it down; that it will spare many innocent lives.

Let us purge the hostility from our hearts and let us practice moderation with our tongues.

Let us begin in the aftermath of this great tragedy to find a way to reverence life, to protect it, to extend its promise to all of our people.

This Nation and its people have suffered grievously from violence and assassination. For this reason, I am appointing, with the recommendation of the leadership of the Congress—with whom I have talked this evening—a commission of most distinguished Americans to immediately examine this tragic phenomenon. They are:

Dr. Milton Eisenhower, the former distinguished President of Johns Hopkins University.

Archbishop Terence Cooke of New York.  
Albert E. Jenner, Jr., of Illinois.

Ambassador Patricia Harris.  
Mr. Eric Hoffer.  
Senator Philip A. Hart.  
Senator Roman Hruska.  
Congressman Hale Boggs.  
Congressman William McCulloch.  
Judge Leon Higginbotham.

The commission will look into the causes, the occurrence and the control of physical violence across this Nation, from assassination that is motivated by prejudice and by ideology, and by politics and by insanity, to violence in our cities' streets and even in our homes.

What in the nature of our people and the environment of our society makes possible such murder and such violence?

How does it happen? What can be done to prevent assassination? What can be done to further protect public figures? What can be done to eliminate the basic causes of these aberrations?

Supported by the suggestions and recommendations of criminologists, sociologists and psychologists, all of our Nation's medical and social sciences, we hope to learn why we inflict such suffering on ourselves. I hope and pray that we can learn how to stop it.

This is a sober time for our great democracy, but we are a strong and we are a resilient people who can, I hope, learn from our misfortunes, who can heal our wounds, who can build and find progress in public order. We can. We must.

So I appeal to every American citizen tonight: Let us begin tonight.

#### INTERSERVICE COOPERATION IN VIETNAM

**HON. PAUL J. FANNIN**

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES  
Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, on May 16, 1968, Secretary of the Air Force Harold Brown addressed the Phoenix Chamber of Commerce during Armed Forces Week.

His remarks deserve wider circulation, since they deal with an aspect of the war which does not often receive much attention and in fact often gets distorted reporting. Secretary Brown's speech deals at some length with the matter of interservice cooperation, specifically air support supplied to allied ground units.

I ask unanimous consent that the speech be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

##### AIR SUPPORT IN VIETNAM

(Remarks by Hon. Harold Brown, Secretary of the Air Force, Phoenix Chamber of Commerce Armed Forces Week Luncheon, Phoenix, Ariz., May 16, 1968)

It's always a pleasure to be with my friends in Phoenix. And I'm doubly pleased to be here during Armed Forces Week.

I'm sure you share my pride in the pilots who train near here. With that certainty in mind, I want to report to you how they are performing in combat—where all of their training pays off. I returned a few weeks ago from my most recent trip to Southeast Asia and I'm convinced no country in the world has finer or more dedicated military men and women than we have in our Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Coast Guard, and Air Force.

In the past month and a half we have seen important moves toward achieving a just peace in Vietnam. We also have listened to a great deal of speculation—some of it pretty

wild—on just what we ought to be doing there. There are some critics of our Vietnam policy who delight in building and burning straw men by assigning to U.S. policy assumptions and objectives which, in fact, have never been part of U.S. policy. For example, I would put in this category those who assert we are or have been focusing only on a military victory, and ignoring the fight for a stable political and economic base in Southeast Asia. Since the enemies our fighting men and allies face are not straw men, and since the people we are helping are as real and as sensitive as the person sitting next to you, it might be well to remind ourselves at the outset of our real objectives in Vietnam. These have not changed.

The free world forces in Vietnam are there to prevent the success of aggression—to provide the South Vietnamese with a free choice as to how they shall be governed.

Our policy in Vietnam is not based on a simple domino theory. That suggestion, too, has been advanced occasionally as a straw man. Certainly the future does not follow history in some sort of lock step. Not every confrontation is a Munich; not every enemy a Hitler. But aggression is always aggression and, when unchecked, it knows few bounds. When aggression pays off, would-be aggressors are tempted to try new adventures, and the nations they then attack are often weakened in their resolve to resist. And the ultimate price to us becomes higher.

In South Vietnam we see a country in transition from the old to the new, with all of the conflicts which that involves. The majority of the people there seek security and freedom from foreign domination. But security without opportunity is not enough. They also seek justice and economic development.

These are the fundamental aspirations of all people, of all men. They cannot be trusted to the care of Hanoi. The enemy's brutal murder of 1,000 civilians in Hue during the Tet offensive is but the most recent of many disqualifying credentials. The execution by the Communists of some 50,000 political opponents when they took over North Vietnam in the 1950's is but a hint of the legacy we would leave in the South if, as some suggest, we were to "bug out."

The goals of the United States and of the South Vietnamese merge in stopping an aggressor aided and abetted by the Communist nations. We are partners in building for lasting freedom, and the constructive goals of the Republic of Vietnam are fully attainable only in peace. We will continue to help our allies achieve a peaceful settlement, and a basis for economic development.

In doing this, the United States has employed military forces capable of exerting enormous power. But these forces have been exercised with careful restraint in Vietnam.

The exercise of our power is not unpredictable—not something applied irresponsibly and therefore to be feared. We have tried to limit the shooting war in South Vietnam to the countryside, the jungles, the fields—the sparsely populated areas—so far as the enemy's actions make this possible.

With this statement of objectives as a backdrop, let me move to a discussion of the men we honor this week. Since the Air Force is my responsibility, I hope that those of you who have saltwater in your blood or gravel in your shoes (or both) will forgive my examples. They deal primarily with airmen and aircraft.

Two factors impress me about the way our forces have learned to cope with what is probably the most difficult and complex war we have ever fought. First, they have proved anew the value of interservice cooperation. Second, they have brought our technological genius to bear in situations where it is difficult to do so, but where without technology, we would have lost the military initiative and advantage.

#### INTERSERVICE COOPERATION

Nowhere else is modern interservice cooperation more apparent than in the close air support given our ground forces.

The rule in our Tactical Air Control System is that troops in contact with the enemy get first priority. Cooperation with our ground forces in Vietnam is our most critical job. This is true for both our close air support team, and for our airlift forces which are so essential to keeping supplies moving in areas where surface transport is often insecure. Our aircrews have said repeatedly that the most rewarding missions are those where they can help our men on the ground, because they can see their contributions to their comrades. And the esteem and confidence are mutual.

An example was related recently by one of our Air Commando pilots. His A-1 fighter was diverted from another mission to contact U.S. troops caught in the open by Viet Cong machine gun fire at 20 meters. They urged him on the radio to bring his ordnance in really close. Since he was carrying fragmentation bombs, he warned the soldiers to keep their heads well down. He made one bomb run and from the ground came "That was really close—do it again!" He repeated, and with his bombs gone made a strafing pass with his guns. As he pulled out he saw the American soldiers, who had just been pinned to the ground for the bomb run, now on their feet watching the effects of this strafing attacks. This sort of spectator activity is hardly recommended in the field manuals, but it illustrated what I mean by mutual confidence.

I recall another instance told me by an A-1 pilot when I visited Southeast Asia two years ago. He was able to shoot a Viet Cong sniper out of a tree just 20 yards from where our own men were being sniped at.

In 1965 we began large-scale air support in South Vietnam after the VC attacks on Pleiku and Qui Nhon in February. In that first year the U.S. Air Force flew nearly 38,000 attack sorties in the South. Close air support flown by Air Force strike pilots played an important part in battles such as Dong Xoai and the Ia Drang Valley. About Dong Xoai, General Westmoreland wrote his air commander: "It is obvious that had it not been for the dedicated efforts by all airmen, the Viet Cong would have achieved their objective."

In 1966 the tempo of close air support stepped up, as more U.S. ground troops went into action in South Vietnam. More than 1,000 aircraft were under Seventh Air Force, double the total in July 1965. U.S. Air Force pilots flew 71,000 attack sorties in the South, largely in support of ground units.

In August 1966 Brigadier General James F. Hollingsworth, then deputy division commander of the First Division, made a special trip to the 3rd Tactical Fighter Wing to tell its officers:

"You . . . are the finest I have ever seen. The balance between us doing our job successfully, and just barely getting along, is tactical air support. . . . Your accuracy is uncanny. I have seen your aircraft stop the enemy . . . and turn an assault into a rout."

One of General Hollingsworth's battalion commanders felt that in many circumstances air support could be called in faster than artillery fire, because the ground commander and the forward air controller, flying together, could watch the ground battle and work out a flexible fire plan, often faster than a request could be put through artillery channels. He said, "we could get jet fighters almost anytime, and I mean in 10 to 20 minutes. This is the sort of cooperation the Army has dreamed about for years." He went on to say that almost always enemy firing and resistance ceased as soon as close air support was called in.

We continued to improve our close support in 1967 and 1968. At Dak To, some months

ago, the commander of the 1st Brigade, 4th Infantry was quoted as saying, "Today the U.S. Air Force saved me one battalion of men."

Air Force pilots flew about 117,000 attack sorties in the South in 1967, the majority in close air support. In addition to the Air Force effort, nearly 53,000 attack sorties were flown by the U.S. Marines and about 500 by the Navy in the South and almost 30,000 by the Vietnamese Air Force.

Largely as a result of the mobility and firepower of our aircraft, the enemy has never been able to win a major military victory in the three years since American Troops were committed to Vietnam. We are defeating guerrillas with a ratio of forces less than half that usually required.

In a spread-out jungle war, often the most effective way to deal with the enemy is for the ground forces to find him and for our air forces to destroy him in close support missions. This requires—and gets—great precision to avoid friendly and noncombatant casualties.

Let me give you an example. Not long ago, a flight of F-100s returning from an escort mission saw black smoke rising from the highway south of Saigon. Investigating, they saw a U.S. convoy and a Vietnamese passenger bus under fire from a Viet Cong ambush. Lacking radio contact with the ground, our fighters held their fire so as not to hit any friendly people, but suppressed the VC attack by making passes without firing or dropping ordnance until contact could be established. Only then did they strafe and drive off the enemy who were just 30 to 50 feet from the road.

To insure responsive and accurate close air support requires a highly-developed control system. The Air Force provides the Army with Air Liaison Officers—specialists assigned to the various levels of Army command to advise on the employment of close air support aircraft. The Air Force also stations experienced Forward Air Controllers (we call them FACs), at the front—on the ground and in light aircraft—to guide the attack force to its targets.

One infantry battalion commander recalls that very close teamwork resulted from his constant flying with his FAC, or their walking through the jungle together. They worked out their method of marking front lines or enemy positions. The infantry officer would mark the spot with colored markers, call down the FAC by radio to mark it for the fighters, and they could talk back and forth. This meant instant communication and feedback. He explained that this gave the human touch—between the commander and the FAC—which resulted in quick response and great flexibility.

The value of the airborne FACs is especially high in Vietnam, where it is so hard to spot targets from the ground. By flying slow-moving observation aircraft daily, over the South Vietnamese countryside, the FACs learn to "read" the terrain for enemy activity by noting anything unusual.

Between late January and March of this year, at Khe Sanh, we saw the results of interservice cooperation on a very large scale. What we found in the hills around Khe Sanh gave rather graphic evidence that another Dien Bien Phu was not in the cards for the North Vietnamese. I want to emphasize that not only did their commitment of thousands of troops lead to heavy enemy losses; it prevented their deployment during the Tet offensive to other crucial areas, such as Hue. This was a clear victory for American firepower and airpower—and for the courage of our men on the ground.

An operation of this magnitude could only have been carried on with close coordination among all the participants. For example, to find the enemy, Air Force FACs alone flew 1,600 sorties. We also flew some 1,400 reconnaissance flights. These helped the intelligence officers of all services pinpoint enemy

targets, which were taken under fire by artillery and aircraft. U.S. Air Force, Navy, and Marine strike and bomber aircraft flew over 24,000 sorties around the clock during the campaign. They hit the enemy with 103,500 tons of ordnance.

One correspondent for the *Baltimore Sun* who accompanied the relief force into Khe Sanh wrote that the "... North Vietnamese soldiers took what is probably the most severe bombardment of any war ... The battlefield is laced with caved in trenches and bunkers ... Strewn among the carnage are tons of boots, gas masks, medical equipment, ammunition, TNT and unexploded ordnance."

While we were losing tens of men, the enemy was losing companies and battalions. Without the battle being joined against a major enemy assault, we won what thus far may well be the most important military decision of the war.

Interservice cooperation has extended of course beyond the confines of U.S. forces. We recognize that the outcome of the war will depend ultimately on the Vietnamese. I think the progress our Air Force has made in helping the Vietnamese Air Force (the VNAF) help itself is encouraging.

I mentioned earlier that the VNAF flew nearly 30,000 attack sorties in the South last year. For more than six years American advisors have worked with Vietnamese airmen, some of whom already had several thousand flying hours, much of it in combat without respite.

In 1961 the VNAF had just received a squadron of A-1 Skyraiders, had a squadron of T-28s and another one forming. A fledgling air force had to be created in the cauldron of war—not the easiest of tasks. In 1962 the VNAF flew about 5,000 attack sorties. This doubled in 1963 and 1964, in large part as the result of American assistance. The figure doubled again in 1965 to more than 23,000, concurrent with a 100% increase in VNAF crews and aircraft and the intensification of the war. In 1966 VNAF attack sorties passed the 31,000 mark.

From one understrength squadron of light aircraft ten years ago, the VNAF has grown to a balanced force of several wings with supersonic jets, prop fighters, transports, helicopters and light aircraft, 16,000 trained and combat-experienced officers and airmen. Last summer the VNAF received the F-5 Freedom Fighter, which gives them a high speed jet that can respond quickly to support of their troops.

They will continue to get more modern strike and support aircraft in the future, including A-37s and C-119s. We are also training them to improve their communications, logistics and management support—all essential to operation of a modern Air Force.

Because American reporters are primarily interested in telling the home front about the feats of American fighting men, and understandably so, you don't hear much about the Vietnamese soldier or airman. Let me tell you about one of them, Major Vo Van Hoi. He was flying his A-1 in close air support of a Government outpost near Saigon being stormed by guerrillas when a 50 caliber bullet ripped into his left hand.

Despite the mangled hand, Major Hoi continued to direct two other Skyraiders in strikes against the guerrillas until the mission was completed. He slowed the bleeding with his watch band as a tourniquet, but the hand was useless. Approaching his base, the pilot of one of the other aircraft reported that his hydraulic system had been hit and he could not lower his landing gear. Major Hoi talked the shaken pilot through the emergency procedures, and waited until he was safely on the ground. Then, slapping his own face and banging his forehead to fight off unconsciousness, Major Hoi brought his aircraft down safely and braked to a halt. For his gallantry he was awarded the American Silver Star, normally the highest combat decoration awarded an ally. You might

remember this story the next time someone throws a blanket condemnation over the bravery and leadership of the South Vietnamese.

#### THE USE OF TECHNOLOGY

Now let me turn briefly to a second factor which I've seen account for the high combat effectiveness of our men in Vietnam. This is their ability, and the ability of Americans at home, to develop and exploit technology in a particular combat situation.

When we began the Vietnam conflict we lacked, indeed we had never had previously, a really good ability to deliver conventional ordnance with great precision at night and in bad weather. Nobody could do it consistently. This is largely attributable to the fact that national policy had emphasized, during the years from the end of World War II and again after the Korean War, nuclear weapons. Our accuracies were good enough for their use, but their use is infeasible in too many circumstances. We've come a long way toward getting night and bad weather capability. At the same time we're doing much better at daytime bombing under good visual conditions. We've developed better radars and sensors to know where we are and where the enemy is.

Finding the target is the first step in selectively applying force. It is no small task even in the daytime, particularly if you're traveling several hundred miles per hour in a jet. When the enemy is hidden under two or three canopies of jungle cover the task is much worse. If you can picture yourself in an aircraft trying to find him in clouds or at night—when the enemy does most of his moving—you can see our problem.

We cannot afford to give him the night. This is why our ground forces patrol and pursue him around the clock. This is why we are supplying some of our forward air controllers with improved devices to spot targets in the dark. This is why we are equipping C-130 cargo aircraft to provide floodlight illumination over large areas.

Of course the ideal attack system is one in which reconnaissance is coupled with a strike capability in the same aircraft. You can then make effective attacks on the first pass in spite of poor visibility, and before he can take cover. We have done considerable testing and instituted operations with this kind of system, and the results are encouraging.

One way we get accurate bomb delivery when visibility is poor is through our improved, ground-based radar. This radar, which gives the pilot information on where and when to release his ordnance, is used widely in our bombing operations. During bad weather at Khe Sanh, for example, it permitted our B-52s to keep hitting the enemy close to our own perimeter day and night. Often the bombers never saw the ground, and the enemy never saw the bombers. This added to the enemy terror. According to a prisoner, one regiment lost three-fourths of its men to a B-52 strike. With ground-based radar our B-52s were able to place their bombs within a few hundred yards of our troops.

When one of the services develops promising technology it shares it. For example, the Air Force has used the Navy's Walleye guided bomb to achieve extreme accuracy. We have also benefited from the Army's work in night vision equipment.

These are only a few of the steps we have taken to let our technology, and our productive capacity, multiply the efforts of our fighting men. Each of the military services has used this approach where possible, for the alternative to multiplying a man's capability is to use—and lose—more men.

I think the ingenuity of our fighting men in recommending ways to use technology, the rapid response of the military services and U.S. industry at home, and quick tactical

exploitation by the men in the field have greatly influenced our supremacy in combat.

In the past few minutes I have stressed the cooperation and the adaptability of our men in Vietnam. These reflect not only the unity but the genius of a generation of young people. I have great faith in these representatives of a generation which is too often maligned.

And I have great confidence in the cause for which they are today fighting. It is very simply and very basically the cause of freedom—including our own freedom.

This country has sought no more worthwhile object, and in its pursuit we are the true revolutionaries.

#### WHAT PROFITS IS HE TALKING ABOUT?

### HON. E. ROSS ADAIR

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, there is a great deal of concern over the farm problem. Representing a district in which agriculture is an important part of the economy, I am disturbed by the failure of the existing farm programs to alleviate conditions and give the farmer a fair return for the time and effort he expends in providing essential products for the consuming public.

Also there is a credibility gap in what the administrative spokesmen are telling the people. From firsthand knowledge, I believe that the facts contained in the editorial from the *Prairie Farmer* tell the true story and dispel the fog that has been created by some spokesmen at the national level who do not know all that is going on.

Farmers are a patriotic, hard-working lot. They are industrious and have made heavy investments in land and equipment to carry on their enterprise in the best American tradition. Their plight should be recognized and their problems resolved rather than their being subjected to public misrepresentation for the job they are doing in providing food and fiber under arbitrary Federal controls and restrictions. It will take food to win the peace and feed the hungry at home and abroad. Our farmers have accepted this responsibility in the past and they will do the job again. But they cannot do it efficiently and well under present Federal policies.

The editorial follows:

#### WHAT PROFITS IS HE TALKING ABOUT?

Government studies are valuable if they make an honest effort to be objective and include men with varied experiences and points of view. Too often it isn't hard to guess the outcome of a federal study. Too many commissions, like the supreme court, are loaded with administration appointees whose particular persuasion is no secret.

Now along comes a private social-action group which makes the same loaded judgment on hunger and malnutrition which, they say, exists in every part of the U.S. including Illinois.

Chairman of this board of inquiry into hunger was Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers. The other 24 members are nearly all Easterners, mainly clergymen and representatives of charitable organiza-

tions with a vague understanding of agriculture.

Reuther often tilts lances with doctrinaire windmills and the business establishment. This time he took on agriculture. As spokesman for the committee, the CIO labor leader said that 10 million Americans are suffering from hunger and malnutrition. He charged that the feed and food-grain programs are "a political and economic system that spends billions to remove food from the market, to limit food production, and to retire land in order to guarantee profits for farmers."

This will come as a surprise, to learn that farmers are largely responsible for the hunger that supposedly stalks the land. The report says further that if you look "... you will find America a shocking place. No other Western country permits such a large proportion of its people to endure the lives we press upon the poor."

To which we say bunk! We've been in other Western countries and have seen their slums. Poor Europeans don't drive up in cars for their relief checks and subsidized food and go home to TV.

Reuther's suggestion that our land diversion programs are responsible for hunger in the U.S. is such a distortion of the facts that it hardly deserves the dignity of an answer. In no country is food so plentiful, so cheap, and so easy to get. In no country can you expend so little labor to earn your daily bread. In no country is labor in such demand at such high wages. In no country are farm prices so low. Perhaps it's Reuther's excess labor costs that price some foods beyond the reach of the poor.

Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman says 2200 counties, two-thirds of all the counties in the nation, have food programs for the poor. Nearly six million people are being fed, thru these programs. Nearly \$200 million is being spent on the food-stamp program which gives the poor food at heavy discounts. We also have other special feeding programs for the children of the poor.

There is no denying that some malnutrition exists in the U.S. Perhaps it never will be completely eradicated because a good part of the problem may be due to poor eating habits. Millions drink coffee and eat little else for breakfast, and not because they have to. Many prefer to buy gasoline rather than spend the money on groceries.

No doubt many elderly people in remote communities need help. Many of the poor produce more children than they can properly feed, clothe and educate. The responsibility for their care is then dumped into the laps of the long-suffering middle class which Reuther castigates as "the four-fifths which enjoys affluence because it has degraded the lower one-fifth mercilessly."

America's standard of living has been due mainly to the enterprise, innovation, and inventiveness of the hard-workers, the producers, the risktakers, and the savers. Reuther's suggestion that they have gained at the expense of the poor is mostly untrue. He has the cart before the horse.

The affluent four-fifths have proved that they are willing to feed, clothe, and educate the unfortunate, even the shiftless. Perhaps the poor need to try a little harder. We would recommend that a good part of the political poverty structure be swept away.

The task of seeking out the unfortunate to help them, and particularly to motivate the young to get education and jobs, should be given to a beefed up Extension Service. This non-political anti-poverty organization has an enviable 54-year record.

Finally, farmers have no reason to shrink from the specious accusations of Walter Reuther. No one has done more than the farmer to end the threat of hunger. Before you can do anything about alleviating hunger you must first have food. We have it in prodigious quantities, thanks to the American farmer.

#### THE LICENSED PRACTICAL NURSE—AN URGENT HEALTH MANPOWER NEED

### HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, according to a joint survey by the U.S. Public Health Service and the American Hospital Association, Manpower Resources in Hospitals—1966, in all nine regions of the United States the licensed practical nurse was listed as one of the five categories of most urgently needed health personnel. The licensed practical nurse—L.P.N.—is an important member of the contemporary health service team whose professional training is different from that received by the registered nurse and thus unable to perform many of the R.N.'s duties. But she does perform a vital function in patient care and in aiding the professional staff of the Nation's hospitals.

It has been estimated that we are now short some 50,000 L.P.N.'s. According to Public Health Service estimates, the output of L.P.N.'s should be increased from 25,000 to at least 40,000 annually.

The May/June issue of *Bedside Nurse*, published by the National Federation of Licensed Practical Nurses, contains a thoughtful article on the role of L.P.N.'s in meeting the current burgeoning health manpower crisis. If we are to bring health care to aged and to deprived persons not now receiving adequate medical attention, then we require the personnel, at all levels of training to provide this care. I ask unanimous consent that the article entitled, "Let's Be Practical About Health Manpower," be printed in the *RECORD*.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the *RECORD*, as follows:

#### LET'S BE PRACTICAL ABOUT HEALTH MANPOWER

(NOTE.—A noted authority on nursing education adds her voice to the swelling demand for the preparation of more licensed practical nurses.)

(By Sandra Rasmussen, R.N.)

The licensed practical/vocational nurse is a person who is willing, able, and prepared to work directly with patients. She directs her activities and nursing measures toward health maintenance, prevention, treatment, and rehabilitation from the effects of disease. The practical nurse is an integral member of the contemporary health team, striving to make comprehensive health services a possibility and a reality for all people.

We know that a basic part of any concept, plan, or program for comprehensive health care is a sufficient number of qualified practitioners. In a letter to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, President Johnson stated that "our examination of the Nation's health problem makes clear that the most critical need is in manpower."

According to the Department of Labor, 4.1 million people were working in the health care field in 1966. Over one million additional health workers are needed by 1975. Does the patient still need the practical nurse? If so, how many? For a change, let's be "practical" about health manpower.

In 1966, a manpower survey was conducted jointly by the U.S. Public Health Service and the American Hospital Association. The re-

port, *Manpower Resources in Hospitals—1966*, indicated urgent needs for registered nurses, licensed practical nurses, aides and orderlies. In all nine regions of the United States the licensed practical nurse was listed as one of the five most urgently needed categories of personnel. (See Table 1.) Similar needs exist for LPNs in extended care facilities. (See Table 2.) Increasing use of licensed practical nurses in community based health services, in physicians' offices and clinics, and in the armed forces, will require still more personnel.

TABLE 1. NURSING PERSONNEL NEEDS IN HOSPITALS, 1966 AND 1975

| Category of personnel                                | Staff, 1966 | Additional needed to give optimum care, 1966 | Percent additional | Estimated total needed in 1975 |
|--|-------------|--|--------------------|--------------------------------|
| Registered nurse.....                                | 361,000     | 79,500                                       | 22                 | 563,800                        |
| Licensed practical nurse.....                        | 150,600     | 41,400                                       | 27                 | 245,800                        |
| Surgical technician.....                             | 17,600      | 3,900  | 22                 | 27,500                         |
| Aide, orderly (except in psychiatric hospitals)..... | 374,400     | 51,300                                       | 14                 | 544,900                        |
| Aide, orderly in psychiatric hospitals.....          | 117,600     | 18,500                                       | 16                 | 174,200                        |

Source: Health Manpower Perspective: 1967, p. 12.

TABLE 2.—NURSING PERSONNEL NEEDS IN EXTENDED CARE FACILITIES, 1966

| Category of personnel         | Present staff | Additional needed to give optimum care | Percent additional |
|-------------------------------|---------------|--|--------------------|
| Registered nurse.....         | 31,000        | 6,000                                  | 19                 |
| Licensed practical nurse..... | 33,600        | 9,400                                  | 28                 |
| Aide, orderly, attendant..... | 177,400       | 10,700                                 | 6                  |

Source: Health Manpower Perspective: 1967, p. 13.

*The Health Manpower Perspective: 1967* discusses the rapid rate of increase in the number of LPNs, and says that between 1950 and 1966, the total more than doubled. To quote, the supply of LPNs in 1966 was 300,000. "In 1966, hospitals reported needs for some 41,000 (41,404 exact figure) more practical nurses, and needs in extended care facilities were estimated at 9,000 (9,400 exact figure). Thus, present unmet needs are probably not less than 50,000. The total need by 1975 may reach 550,000, with an expected supply of 450,000. This is largely an older group, so that a large loss can be anticipated in the next decade."

Persons with less-than-baccalaureate-degree education perform many and varied technical, skilled, and semi-skilled jobs in the health and related services. The number of auxiliary workers in the health occupations is increasing greatly. Recently, the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor completed a study of health manpower requirements and supply. The study forecasts fewer professional workers than the professions see as needed, and considerably larger numbers of workers with shorter training.

A prediction is made in *Projections of Educational Statistics to 1975-76* that there will be a decrease per year in individuals who earn bachelor's and first-professional degrees in the health professions: dentistry, medicine, nursing, optometry, osteopathy, pharmacy, public health, veterinary medicine, and so on. It is expected that the number of persons earning master's degrees in the health professions will increase, but there will be fewer earned doctor's degrees in 1975-76 than in 1965-66. Should this projection come true, the role of technical, skilled, and semi-skilled workers in the health field will in all likelihood increase in importance in the years ahead, if the health needs of a nation are to be met.

I believe that graduations from state approved schools of practical/vocational nursing will and must increase in the decade ahead. Consonant with the trends in general education, I believe that:

New practical nursing programs will develop at secondary level.

So it has been established that the need for more licensed practical nurses is paramount. But how many are needed? The Bureau of Health Manpower of the U.S. Public Health Service suggests that the annual output of practical nurses should be increased from the present 25,000 to at least 40,000. So it would seem that the actions of individuals or groups who are trying to place a ceiling or limit on the number of practical nurses are about as realistic as the surgeon who would limit a patient's strength by "bleeding" him before a heart transplant.

COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS BY DR. PURNENDU KUMAR BANERJEE AT ELMIRA COLLEGE, ELMIRA, N.Y.

## HON. MARGARET CHASE SMITH

OF MAINE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mrs. SMITH. Mr. President, Dr. Purnendu Kumar Banerjee, Minister of the Embassy of India, in Washington, has presented a most interesting dissertation on the subject "Women in Modern Society." His presentation was made in a commencement address delivered on June 2, 1968, to the graduates of Elmira College, Elmira, N.Y.

I ask unanimous consent that his address be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

### WOMEN IN MODERN SOCIETY

I am deeply grateful to you for having honored my country by inviting me to give the commencement address this morning to the 1968 graduates of Elmira College. I feel doubly honored to receive the honorary doctorate degree and will be proud to call myself an alumnus.

I also would like to take this opportunity to express my sincere appreciation for the excellent International Program you have worked out to exchange scholars and teachers between this great temple of learning and institutions of other countries, including mine. Two distinguished members of your faculty have gone to India. Dr. Grant Northrup served as a Visiting Professor at the University of Calcutta—my alma mater. Dr. Margaret Locke has been teaching at the University of Delhi. From India Mrs. Krishna, Mrs. Ansari, Dr. Raychaudhuri and Dr. Sharma are teaching at Elmira. This is evidence to show that your institution reaches out across the high seas, to share many experiences, to participate in joint experiments, and to strengthen the common bonds of human aspirations and values.

Elmira is one of the oldest colleges in the United States and the first to offer women comparable courses and degrees to those of men's colleges. In the last 112 years of its existence, Elmira has carved for itself a distinguished and a distinct place in the academic world. You have been taught that the dictum "learn to live" is as important as "live to learn." This has a special significance in the atomic age.

Elmira aspires to fulfill the goal of ideal education; that of distilling skills or information into knowledge and thus preparing one for the nobler life. But idealism has to be tempered by reality, and your training will enable you to participate in a life as exciting as it is harsh. You will take part in the agony of the world. For there will be agony as there will be incompleteness, errors to be corrected, inequality to be redressed, frustrations to conquer. You cannot disown your heritage by entering life as spectators; you have to become active protagonists. I am confident that you will not shy away from the challenge, but face such evils as persist in our social system, overcome them, and try to establish the rules of justice and equity by matching your intellectual ability with practical efficiency.

Your generation in no sense is inferior to preceding ones, and I am confident you will set forth to fight material misery and spiritual despair: plant a rose in a drab corner, stroke a sullen child's cheek, wipe the tear off the face of crying humanity. Elmira has provided you with necessary tools and train-

More practical nursing programs will transfer to, or be established in community junior colleges.

The Federal Government (Office of Education, Bureau of Health Manpower, Department of Labor, Office of Economic Opportunity) will expand funding for education of adults in the health field.

To repeat, the practical/vocational nurse is a person who is willing, able, and prepared to work directly with patients. I believe that the practical nurse is and will continue to be a key member of the comprehensive health care team.

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THE "PUEBLO": HOW LONG, MR. PRESIDENT?

## HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, this is the 136th day the U.S.S. *Pueblo* and her crew have been in North Korean hands.

ing to make a healthy blend of continuity with change. You should set a course heartened by Toynbee's dictum that civilization is a movement and not a condition, a voyage and not a harbor.

I propose to speak today on the role of women in modern society, with particular reference to India. Coming as I do from a different milieu, I will assess the role of women in the continuing revolution in India. Among the various types of relationships, that between women and men is undoubtedly the most significant and important. The position of women in any society is a true index of its culture. In the earliest glimpse of recorded Indian society, the *Rig Veda*, more than 3500 years ago, presented a picture of women as the equal of men in civic and religious sphere. The Upanishads expounded the idea of man and woman as the equal halves of a divine unity, each the complement of one another, neither complete without the other.

The Upanishads throw further light on the intellectual life of the times, in which men and women were equal participants. Women like Gargi and Maitreyi were famous scholars and they contributed generously in the realm of philosophy.

Ancient Indian Law as expounded by Manu in 600 B.C. has prescribed:

"Where women are honored there the gods rejoice; but where they are not honored, there all rites are fruitless; where women grieve, that family quickly perishes; but where they do not grieve, that family prospers."

Emperor Asoka, a contemporary of Emperor Alexander the Great, sent his daughter Sangamitra as India's Ambassador to the Court of Ceylon; Rajyashri, a sister of Emperor Harsha, acted as his counsel and played a prominent role in his Court; Lord Buddha admitted women into his order and they rendered great spiritual service.

However, in the medieval period, as in the Middle Ages in Europe, India passed through dark epochs. The colors and contours of social life faded as the invaders from the north-west disturbed political tranquility and social peace. The reaction set in. Women were socially cribbed and confined to their homes, Sacerdotalism dominated the social life, religion became ritualistic, taboos were woven into tradition. The evil *purdah* (veil) system came into existence.

Even this dreary period had its luminous parts, just as the muddy swamp throws up lilies. The first woman sovereign of India, Princess Razia, ruled from Delhi. The devotion of an Emperor to his wife, Mumtaz, resulted in that symphony in marble—the Taj Mahal. In Western India, Mirabai sang inspired devotional songs, which even today are on the lips of millions of Indians. Some of the signposts of history are commemorated in the heroic struggle of Chandibi, a princess in Southern India; the gallant fight of Laxmibai; and Queen Ahalyabai Holkar's model administration of the State of Indore. There were many women who were patrons of culture, poets of distinction, and administrators of remarkable ability, such as Gulbadan Begum; Emperor Akbar's wife, Salima Sultan; Emperor Aurangzeb's sister, Jehanara Begum. On the whole, however, Indian womanhood suffered a setback during this period of social incoherence and political dissensions.

In modern times, India had a suffragette movement but no suffragettes. The battle for woman's rights was fought not by women, but by men. Among the pioneers in this struggle were Raja Rammohan Roy, the social reformer, and Ishwarachandra Vidyasagar, the educationalist. Rammohan founded the Brahmo Samaj, which led the fight against many cruel customs of his day and helped the movement for emancipation of women. He was followed by Agarkar, Ranade and Mahatma Gandhi. The education of women, weighted with western values, slowly

and steadily became popular and some educated women—Pandita Ramabai, Mrs. P. K. Ray, Maharani Chhinnabai—relentlessly sought to uplift the status of women.

It is a paradox of our times that the greatest contributions to women's emancipation were made by war, liberation struggles and national emergencies. Conflict gave women opportunities to show their mettle and confirm their right to justice and equality.

It was left to Mahatma Gandhi in India to crown all these efforts. When he launched his struggle for India's independence, women all over India gave up sheltered homes, defied social mores, and sacrificed physical comforts. They courted imprisonment and languished in jails. Sarojini Naidu, lauded as the Nightingale of India, and Nellie Sen Gupta, the well-known social worker, became presidents of the Indian National Congress, the party that led the freedom movement. Mahatma Gandhi could not think of his subsequent non-violent non-cooperation movement without the participation of women. He once said:

"I would have to find that my future non-violent army contained a vast preponderance of women over men. If the fight came, I should then approach it with greater confidence than if men predominated. I would dread the latter's violence. Women would be my guarantee against such an outbreak for violence."

It was only natural that when India became independent in 1947, women were already there, experienced and prepared, to share with men the challenges and responsibilities in building up a new India. This is the reason why today in India so many women are actively participating in political, social, educational and cultural activities. There is perhaps no walk of Indian life where women have not made a valuable contribution. You may recall that last year India held her Fourth General Election—the largest the world has even seen—involving 250 million voters. This free and fair election based on adult franchise was supervised by one million electoral officers. Of these 250 million voters, 120 million were women voters. There were about 400 women candidates and 130 women were elected to the National Legislatures.

India's Prime Minister today is a woman. Indra Gandhi was a freedom fighter who was born and brought up in the atmosphere of the struggle for national emancipation—one of the main contributing factors why she finds herself Prime Minister of India today. She once said: "My public life started at the age of three, and my favorite occupation then as a small child was to deliver speeches to other children and the servants while standing on a high table." Like her, there are innumerable distinguished women in India who are holding important and responsible positions both at the Federal and the State level.

Indian women also have played equally important roles in international relations. Vijayalakshmi Pandit became the first woman President of the United Nations General Assembly. Another equally distinguished Indian woman, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, was elected President of the International Red Cross Conference and later of the World Health Organization. Mrs. Hannah Sen was Vice Chairman of the Commission on Human Rights, succeeded by Mrs. Hansa Mehta and Mrs. Asha Devi Aryanayakam. Mrs. Laxmi Menon, who represented India on many United Nations' committees, was Minister in the Indian Ministry of External Affairs. Other distinguished Indian women associated with U.N. activities, to mention a few, were Begum Sharifa Hamid Ali, Kamla Devi Chattopadhyaya, Mrs. Shyam Kumari Khan and Mrs. Tarakeshwari Sinha. There are many more who served with dignity and devotion in the various international organizations and in the interest of world peace.

Free India thus wrought an unprecedented revolution in social values and attitudes which were accelerated by the spectacular growth of women's education and thus increased their usefulness. The Constitution of India guarantees equal political rights to women, and the law gave them social status. Marriage is now a civil contract. Polygamy is abolished. Divorce is permitted. Women have an equal right to inherit under the law. Resulting consequences were that they took advantage of new responsibilities and opportunities, and demonstrated afresh their inner worth and equality.

In every country, in every generation, there are millions of women who have not found fame, but whose daily existence lighted the hearth and helped to civilize the human race. Their warmth of heart, their self-effacement, their unassuming loyalty, their strength in suffering and stress, are glorious pages in the history of mankind. This has been very aptly put by another great world citizen—Queen Elizabeth of Great Britain, when she said: "Women have breathed gentleness and care into the harsh progress of mankind."

It is interesting to note that before World War I there were only four countries in the world in which women had the same political rights as men: New Zealand gave political rights to women in 1893, Finland in 1906, Norway in 1913 and Britain in 1918. By the end of the first World War the number of countries in which women had acquired equal political rights had risen from four to seven. By the end of World War II the number was 30. Today there are only eleven countries in which women do not have political rights.

From Chile to China women are playing a prominent role, both in national and in international spheres. They seem to wield more power and influence all over the world. In Yugoslavia, about 50 per cent of all employed persons are women, in France 38 per cent, in Germany 33 per cent. There are 200,000 women doctors in the Soviet Union, and 60,000 are working in laboratories. American women are distinguished by their own contribution. In 1848, Elizabeth Cady Stanton organized the first Convention on Women's Rights at a place called Seneca Falls close to Elmira. In 1868, Wyoming was the first State that granted women suffrage. In 1872 Victoria Woodhull became a Presidential candidate; though it was an infructuous effort, this bid paved the way for Mrs. Jeanette Rankin in 1916 from Montana and Mrs. Hattie Caraway in 1932 from Arkansas to be elected to the House of Representatives and to the Senate respectively. The first woman Governor was Mrs. Nellie Ross, elected in Wyoming in 1925, and the first woman Cabinet member was Mrs. Francis Perkins, appointed Secretary of Labor in 1933. All American women had secured political rights by 1920.

But the woman in America remains essentially feminine, though she often shares the work and the burden of politics at the precinct level. In the Presidential election of 1964, two million women volunteers, on behalf of the Democratic Party and the Republican Party applied themselves with enthusiasm and dedication to grassroots political organizations. The American woman, it would appear, believes more in partnership than in leadership. Her contribution is complementary and seldom competitive. That is the reason perhaps why there are so few American women elected to the high offices of this country. Her unobtrusive, dedicated work in the household and, in the local community as partner and adviser, bears the stamp of immeasurable contribution. Eleanor Roosevelt's life is an excellent example; she was a devoted wife and an affectionate mother, but above all a great champion of human rights and a dedicated international-

ist, Helen Keller is an inspiring example of what a human being can accomplish through faith and fortitude and an unconquerable desire to search for light and not to surrender to darkness; to strive for sound and communication and not to yield to silence and despair. Margaret Sanger has done great service to humanity by pioneering in the cause of family planning—against prejudice and opposition—when she advised men and women not to bring a human being into this world unless he is assured of opportunity and human dignity.

Graduates of the 1968 class, may I say in conclusion that you should take your rightful place in your society based on dignity and mutual respect, and contribute to the betterment of your home, your society, your country and the world. You have the intelligence, the integrity and the intellectual discipline to be useful in shaping the world to be a better place. Your capacity for understanding, justice and tolerance could be instrumental in ensuring peace and coexistence in your own society as well as in the international community.

Finally, I would like to offer to this fine group of talented young men and women on the threshold of life an ancient Sanskrit blessing: mangalvatyah bhavanthu (*May prosperity in all senses be your lot*).

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST  
CHRISTIAN FAITH

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, denial to the First Continental Congress on evangelism to launch the Crusade of the Americas from the Mall in Washington, D.C., by the Department of Interior must be accepted as persecution of the Christian faith—especially after considering the denial of these facilities to men of faith, the Government then granted unprecedented use of the Mall for the purpose of political aggression.

I am in receipt of a resolution from the Amite Baptist Church at Denham Springs, La., protesting such discrimination.

As the Baptists profess, it would appear that in a government praising equality, the campsite should be equally available for "all or none."

I include the resolution as part of the RECORD:

RESOLUTION

Whereas, Baptist church leaders, using proper and legal channels, made a request to use the mall located between the Washington and Lincoln monuments and were denied the privilege by the Department of the Interior with Mr. Monte E. Fitch, Superintendent acting as agent;

And whereas, the request for use of the Park area was for the purpose of demonstrating the faith in Jesus Christ on the part of some twenty-four million Baptists to be represented in Washington by some 10,000 delegates to the first Continental Congress on Evangelism to launch the Crusade of the Americas,

And whereas, this request was made prior to the filing of the "Poor People's" request and the "Poor People" were granted a permit to demonstrate while the Baptists were denied the right to use the same facilities for the purpose of demonstrating their faith and love for Christ,

And whereas, it would appear that the mall is being reserved for political use only and not for religious purposes and whereas it would follow that such practice would be a gross inequity since militant demonstrators would be allowed to use government parks as a base from which to pressure and disrupt Congress and at the same time a peaceful church group be refused the right to use similar facilities,

Be it therefore resolved, that we the Baptist Men's Organization of the 1,020 member Amite Baptist Church of Denham Springs, Louisiana meeting in session on May 27 declare our utter dismay and avowed disapproval of the action of the Department of the Interior in their discrimination against the Christian religion in general and Baptists in particular in denying them the use of facilities that should be equally available for "all" or for "none".

Be it further resolved that copies of this resolution be sent to President Lyndon B. Johnson, Vice-President Hubert Humphrey, Secretary Department of Interior Stewart Udall, to the representatives and senators of the state of Louisiana, Governor John J. McKeithen, President of Southern Baptist Convention Franklin Paschall, the local newspapers and Baptist Message.

ROBERT ASH,

Secretary, Baptist Men, Amite Baptist Church.

JAMES K. PIERCE,

Pastor, Amite Baptist Church.

DOUGLAS HOUSE,

President, Baptist Men, Amite Baptist Church.

SAMMIE LEE THAMES,

Vice President, Baptist Men, Amite Baptist Church.

SOFTEN UP EX-IMP?

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Extensions of Remarks an editorial entitled "Soften Up Ex-Imp?" published in the New York Daily News of Wednesday, June 5, 1968. The Daily News has the largest daily circulation of any newspaper in the United States, nearly 2,000,000.

The editorial points up the undesirable aspects of S. 3218, now on the Senate calendar.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SOFTEN UP EX-IMP?

The Export-Import Bank of Washington is a government agency that was set up in 1934 to help finance and stimulate trade between the United States and other countries.

Its charter requires the bank to extend loans, guarantees and insurance in export-import transactions only when there is "reasonable assurance" of repayment. It has stayed in the black, largely because it is run by bankers.

The Senate now has before it a bill to soften up Ex-Imp in an alarming manner. This measure would authorize the institution to use \$500 million of its lending authority for loans, etc., which were not reasonably sure of being paid back. And when the total of unpaid Ex-Imp obligations exceeded \$100 million, the U.S. Treasury would be stuck for the excess sums.

Excuse for the proposed change in Ex-Imp

procedures is that it would help to improve the nation's balance of payments and strengthen the dollar.

We side with Sen. Harry F. Byrd Jr. (D-Va.) in strenuously opposing this bill, as he did yesterday in a powerful and astute Senate speech.

The U.S. Treasury, of course, gets its money from the taxpayers—who, under this proposed law, would be stuck for any large, outside mistakes the Ex-Imp managers might make. The taxpayers should not be saddled with this additional burden, and we hope Congress will slaughter this bill.

POSTMASTER GENERAL PLUNGES  
INTO JOB WITH CRUSADER ZEAL

HON. FRANK J. BRASCO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, the vigorous, progressive approach W. Marvin Watson has taken in his new duties as Postmaster General were described recently in an excellent article in the Long Island Press. I insert the article in the RECORD:

[From the Long Island (N.Y.) Press, May 26, 1968]

POSTMASTER GENERAL PLUNGES INTO JOB WITH CRUSADER ZEAL

(By Craig Smith)

WASHINGTON.—William Marvin Watson Jr. has another mission—perfecting the giant Post Office Department.

Only four weeks after becoming postmaster general, the former presidential aide appears well on his way to a start, even though his term will expire this December.

The 43-year-old Watson has big ideas for the department and its 711,660 employees. But, he says, "I guess my expectations may not live up to what I hope to do."

Expectations include modernization of buildings and machinery, increasing use of airplanes for hauling first-class mail, and ensuring promotions for many of the department's 100,000 Negroes and Spanish-speaking Americans.

"We expect that the amount of air-lifted mail will double in the next two weeks," one official commented privately.)

These would be noble goals for any postmaster general let alone one with but seven months to accomplish them, and who needs the help of employees still loyal to Watson's likeable predecessor—Larry O'Brien—now departed to the Bobby Kennedy campaign.

Nevertheless, Watson has plunged into the job with a crusader's zeal, working 16-hour days and weekends. He has exhibited the same kind of dedication which earlier led President Johnson to declare:

"Marvin is as wise as my father, as gentle as my mother, as loyal and dedicated and close to my side as Lady Bird."

But not every one in the Post Office Department sees it quite that way.

"It's terrible," grumbled one official the other day. "He wants to make this a great department."

Less harsh judgments range from, "He certainly is a hard worker," to "I think Marvin's really trying to do a good job."

At the White House, Watson earned—in addition to presidential praise—a reputation (often privately cursed) as a super-efficiency expert. He made White House limousines log every stop, he ran a telephone call traffic study.

At the Post Office, he made it a policy to see many of the department's employees—from janitors to secretaries, and up. He

invited them to a series of six punch and coffee receptions (Watson is a teetotaler), shaking hands, pushing his ideas—and apparently trying to dispel any sour notions that might have existed.

"A lot of people in this building had never seen a postmaster general before," said one who attended. "They were delighted."

Watson doesn't stop work at 10 or 11 p.m. when he leaves his office. He takes home a reading file with him.

Weekend trips have taken him on inspection tours of facilities at Baltimore, Detroit, Norfolk (Va.) and Cincinnati. This weekend he plans to be in California.

On returning from the Baltimore and Detroit trips (his first flight in a commercial aircraft in two and a half years), he told a Senate committee the tour "aided me in identifying two basic and immediate issues—the failure of antiquated facilities, and the vast possibilities of modern structures directed by the latest management techniques."

Perhaps Watson's most ambitious scheme aims at providing better employment and promotion opportunities for Negroes, and other minority group employees.

Watson plans a three-man task-force (one white man; one Negro; one Spanish-speaking American) and will provide a staff to help eliminate any discrimination in postal employment around the country.

Although the postmaster general cannot fire prejudiced postmasters or supervisors, aides say he has authority to transfer or reassign them, and he's made it clear he will use this authority.

"The task-force," says an aide, "will get down there (to the local level) and make sure that these people are being promoted; it's a way of doing away with the postmaster who is anti-Negro."

A SALUTE TO THE LONG AND DISTINGUISHED GEORGIA JOURNALISM CAREER OF MRS. NORA LAWRENCE SMITH

HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, a tea and a dinner will be held in Ashburn, Ga., tonight, in honor of Mrs. Nora Lawrence Smith, and in recognition of her long and devoted service to the newspaper profession in Georgia and to her community.

I have joined the many friends and associates of "Miss Nora," as she is affectionately known throughout the State of Georgia, in saluting her on her outstanding accomplishments.

An editorial also congratulating Miss Nora was published in the Atlanta Journal, of June 4. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MISS NORA

Georgia journalism has produced some interesting individuals but none more interesting or delightful than Nora Lawrence Smith of the Wiregrass Farmer of Ashburn.

Miss Nora's years now are four score plus but age has not dimmed her ardor for good causes (including that of the Democratic party) nor weakened her forthright and peppery personality.

In fact the only effect the years have had on Miss Nora is to bring her honors. Last May she received the Emma C. McKinney memorial award at the National Newspaper Association annual convention in Los Angeles for her distinguished service and contributions to community and profession. On June 6, which is Thursday, Miss Nora will be the honor guest at a dinner sponsored by the Turner County Chamber of Commerce, a sort of local celebration of Miss Nora's national honor.

The Journal adds its congratulations and best wishes to Miss Nora's formidable collection of honors, awards, and tokens of affection and esteem.

DR. JOHN WESLEY RALEY

HON. TOM STEED

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. STEED. Mr. Speaker, the State of Oklahoma lost one of its most distinguished educators and leaders last week in the passing of Dr. John Wesley Raley, chancellor of Oklahoma Baptist University at Shawnee.

For more than a quarter of a century, from 1934 to 1961, Dr. Raley served as president of OBU. He built the university far beyond the dreams of most of those who had gone before him. But more than that he helped mold the lives of many thousands of young people into the channels of constructive citizenship. He was a man of integrity, of conviction, and of dedication, deeply interested in people.

As a young reporter I met him when he came to OBU as one of the youngest university presidents in our Nation's history. As he showed me around the campus, setting forth his plans for the future, I was amazed at the audacity of his vision. But all that he foretold then long since has been exceeded by the reality of his achievement.

He could make people know and act on the importance of education and religion to our way of life. Personally I have lost a real friend. All of us who knew him are the better for his wisdom.

The following articles and editorial from the Shawnee News-Star, published by Ross U. Porter, illustrate the impact of his career:

SERVICES TODAY FOR OBU'S BELOVED

DR. JOHN W. RALEY

Funeral services for Dr. John Wesley Raley, chancellor of Oklahoma Baptist University, will be at 4 p.m. today in the John W. Raley Chapel, OBU.

The casket will be opened at the chapel from 1 p.m. until 3:50 p.m., and will not be opened after the funeral.

Dr. Charles Forbes Taylor, of Washington, D.C., will officiate. He will be assisted by Drs. J. P. Dane, J. C. Segler and Jack C. Carroll.

Burial will be in Resthaven Memorial Park. Roesch Brothers Funeral Chapel is in charge of arrangements.

The funeral will be broadcast by radio station KGFF at 4 p.m.

The family requests that instead of flowers memorial gifts be sent to the Raley Chapel completion fund.

Dr. Raley died at 7:40 p.m. Sunday in the Shawnee Medical Center.

He was president of Oklahoma Baptist University for 27 years, stepping down in 1961

because of ill health to become chancellor. He was named president emeritus in 1965.

Raley's tenure as president, from June 1934 to May 1961, was at the time of his retirement from the presidency, the longest tenure of any college president in Oklahoma, the longest tenure of any Southern Baptist college president and the fourth longest tenure of any president of a private college in the United States.

OBU grew from a four-building campus with a property valuation of \$428,000 to a university with more than 20 buildings and a property valuation of \$8,000,000. He led the way in establishing continuing annual financial support by the Baptist General Convention of Oklahoma for OBU, and during his presidency, OBU received academic accreditation by the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools.

Born Aug. 15, 1902, in Rosebud, Texas, he was the son of Leonidas Washington Raley and Margaret Frances Duncan Raley. He was graduated from Rosebud High School in 1919.

He received the A.B. degree from Baylor University, Waco, Texas, in 1923; the Th.M. degree from Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth, 1927; the Th.D. degree from Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary, Philadelphia, Pa., in 1933. He also received honorary doctorate degrees from OBU and Baylor.

Dr. Raley began his educational career as the principal of North Prairie Rural School, Chilton, Texas, in 1922-23, and then taught American history and Spanish at Carlsbad High School, Carlsbad, N.M., in 1923-24.

After three years in Seminary at Fort Worth, Dr. Raley pastored the First Baptist Church of Smithville, Texas, 1927-30. On June 23, 1929, Dr. Raley married Helen Thames, of Smithville.

In 1930 the Raleys moved to Philadelphia, when he attended Eastern Seminary and pastored the First Baptist Church of Millburn, N.J.

From 1931-34, Dr. Raley pastored the First Baptist Church of Bartlesville, and it was while serving in this post that he was elected to the board of trustees of Oklahoma Baptist University. While serving as chairman of the trustees in 1933-34, he was elected the eighth president of OBU.

In addition to his OBU service, Dr. Raley was active in civic and state educational and religious activities. He was a member of a board appointed by Governor Marland to coordinate the colleges and universities of Oklahoma into a state system and to formulate the constitutional amendment creating the state regents for higher education.

He served as president of the Southern Baptist Education Association, the Southern Baptist Education Commission, and the Oklahoma Independent College Foundation.

He was assistant divisional chaplain of the 45th Division, Oklahoma National Guard, 1938-40; vice chairman of the State Defense Committee, 1941; member of the State War Council, which aroused public interest in war bond sales; and chairman, Pottawatomie County Red Cross, during World War II.

He served as state chairman of the Oklahoma Food Conservation Committee in 1948 and as state chairman of the 1958 and 1959 Mental Health Campaigns.

He had been a member of Who's Who in America since 1936 and was elected to the Oklahoma Hall of Fame in 1958.

He was active in the Rotary Club; Royal Arch Masons, of which he was grand chaplain in 1963-64; Shawnee Chamber of Commerce; and the Men's Dinner Club of Oklahoma City.

After his retirement from active service in 1965, Dr. Raley authored Sunday School lessons for 13 newspapers in Oklahoma and Texas, and he served as a member of the board of directors of the Shawnee Medical Association.

He was a member of Shawnee First Baptist Church.

Survivors include the widow, Helen Thames Raley, of the home; a son, John Wesley Raley Jr., Oklahoma City; a daughter, Mrs. James R. Nash, Waco, Texas; five brothers, Claude, San Antonio, Texas; LeRoy, Sulphur; Floyd, Oklahoma City; Coleman, Shawnee; Frank, Pawhuska; three sisters, Mrs. B. A. Spillar, McAllen, Texas; Mrs. O. H. Schram, Taylor, Texas; Mrs. F. N. Griffin, Chevy Chase, Md.; and three grandchildren.

Honorary bearers will be: Kenneth Abernathy, Dr. Meredith Appleton, W. P. "Bill" Atkinson, Dr. James Baldwin, Jack Bell, Former Gov. Henry Bellmon, Dr. Eugene Briggs, Norman Brillhart, Frank Buck, Dr. Roy Cantrell, Dr. Tom E. Carter, John Clifton, Donald I. Cochrane, B. J. Cooper, Dr. Grady Cothen, Ernie Cowen, Link Cowen, Clark Craig.

Walter Firestone, Lloyd Ford Jr., Dr. A. D. Foreman, Dr. Virgil Forrester, Dr. Clinton Gallaheer, Dr. Paul C. Gallaheer, Former Gov. Raymond Gary, John Goode, Dr. Harold K. Graves, Sen. Ralph Graves, Dr. J. D. Grey, James Gregory, Dr. Jack Gritz, Dr. Earl Guinn, Dr. John Hayes, Rex Hawkes, Dr. Augie Henry, Dr. David House, Ezra Johnson, Edward H. Keefe, Dr. Roy Kelley, Dr. Joseph Kelso, Bob Kerr, William Kerr, Dr. J. D. Kethley.

Martin Lawrence, Robert Lynn, George E. McKinnis Jr., Dr. Lowell D. Milburn, Sen. Mike Monroney, W. B. Moran, Paul K. Nance, Dr. T. Grady Nanne, Joseph M. Nash Jr., Gaylord Noftger, Dr. Hope Owen.

Ross Porter, B. Andrew Potter, Jack Reese, Dr. Richard Sneed, Dr. Milford Rouse, Randall Spears, Dr. L. E. Solomon, Congressman Tom Steed, Pierre Taron, Thomas Terry, Basil M. Toland, Dr. E. W. Thornton, Warren Terry, Joe Warren, Dr. Hermond Westmoreland, James Winterringer and Jerome Zickrick.

Bearers will be Kenneth Ever, Cap Gardner, Dr. Jack Purdue, Granville Mayes, Grady Smith and Lee Stephens.

#### TRIBUTE PAID TO DR. RALEY

Responses came quickly from across the state and nation to the news of the death of Dr. John Wesley Raley, president emeritus of Oklahoma Baptist University.

Dr. Grady C. Cothen, present OBU president, said, "By any standard of measurement, Dr. John Wesley Raley built Oklahoma Baptist University. He will forever be associated with its history and its future. He gave OBU his best and his life.

"His greatest memorial is in the lives of thousands of young people whom he touched and blessed. His surging optimism, keen intellect and unswerving devotion to OBU are largely responsible for what the institution has become.

"We extend our deepest sympathy to his family and his many friends, and pledge our best in Christian education at OBU."

Dr. Thomas B. Lackey, executive secretary-treasurer of the Baptist General Convention of Oklahoma, said, "I was shocked to learn of the death of Dr. John Wesley Raley. He has been an enthusiastic supporter of every phase of denominational life, including Oklahoma Baptist University, for many, many years. I have lost a personal friend and a co-worker of longstanding.

Dr. Richard T. Hopper, chairman of OBU Board of Trustees and Ardmore pastor, said, "The Baptist people of Oklahoma, and especially former students of the University, have suffered a great loss in the death of Dr. John W. Raley. In our hearts there is a feeling of gratitude for his life, his devoted service, and the inspiration of his example through the years. We express our sympathy to Mr. Raley and members of his family.

Dr. Richard Sneed, president, St. Gregory's College, said, "I count my years of close friendship with Dr. John Wesley Raley a

great blessing. He was a counselor and father to me in college administration. His wise advice and understanding of people have stood me in good stead and I shall miss him greatly. The example of his wit, courage and administrative genius will abide with all of us who loved and admired him so much."

Pierre Taron, Shawnee mayor, said, "Dr. John Wesley Raley enriched the lives of every person with whom he came in contact. It was my privilege to have been associated with him on many occasions. Each time I felt that I was the one who had gained by this association.

"He was a person for whom I, as well as everyone who knew him, had the deepest respect and admiration. His death is a tremendous loss to all the people of Shawnee and this entire area, as well as to OBU and his associates. His memory will always be an inspiration to all of us who knew him. I want to offer Mrs. Raley and the family my personal feelings of deepest sympathy, as well as those of all the people I represent."

Dr. George Cross, president, University of Oklahoma, said, "Dr. John W. Raley was a wonderful man whose friendship I have enjoyed for more than thirty years. His loss will be felt keenly by his many, many friends, and by the profession of higher education."

Edward C. Keefe, executive vice president, Oklahoma Independent College Foundation, said, "Dr. John W. Raley was one of the prime movers in the creation and development of the Oklahoma Independent College Foundation. Many of the contributors to his association are traceable to the work he did in the field. He kept his interest in the OICF even after retiring as president and continued to travel and make calls on behalf of the Foundation. His participation and his influence, as well as the impetus he continued to give to our cause, will be sorely missed. It is a personal loss for me, as well, because I classed him as a dear friend."

Dr. Bruce Carter, president, Northeastern A & M College, said, "We have certainly lost a wonderful leader and friend. All the world knows of his tremendous and great leadership of Oklahoma Baptists during a quarter of a century or more, and especially the magnificent and wonderful job he has done in building a great University at Shawnee.

"As long as there are Baptists in Oklahoma, there will be those who know, respect and love the name and memory of John Wesley Raley."

#### DR. JOHN WESLEY RALEY

Shawnee lost its biggest builder and best civic booster when Dr. John Wesley Raley died here Sunday night.

A third of a century ago, Raley came to Shawnee during the great depression on a critical rescue mission to save Oklahoma Baptist University from closing its doors.

The present \$10 million campus, now a Shawnee showplace, attests magnificently to the success of that mission. So, too, do thousands of former students who were inevitably touched by the Raley dynamic charm and character.

John Raley spent a busy lifetime here building architectural structures and attracting students with the proper standards to occupy each newly completed facility. Doubtless, he had a few disappointments but certainly no defeats.

The John Wesley Raley Chapel will always stand as a living monument to his dedication, courage and industry. He liked to call it "The Spire of Faith . . . in the works and ways of God . . . we would ever keep before our youth."

The management of the Shawnee News-Star has closely followed with great pride the career of this illustrious leader. He has always been a great force for good in this city and his friends and family have now suffered an irreparable loss.

#### REA ESSAY CONTEST

### HON. DAVE MARTIN

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Speaker, each year the various REA districts in my district sponsor an essay contest on the value of electricity to rural areas. The best essay in each district is then selected and the winner receives a trip to Washington.

Listed below are four of the winners in my district. Each of these essays is well written and deserving of your attention. REA has been a great boon to Nebraska and all rural areas of the country, as pointed out in these fine essays.

These essays follow:

WHAT LOCAL OWNERSHIP OF CHERRY-TODD ELECTRIC COOPERATIVE MEANS TO MY COMMUNITY—A BETTER LIFE FOR ALL

(By Diane Connot)

(NOTE.—Contestant sponsored by Cherry-Todd Electric Membership Corporation, Mission, South Dakota, in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association.)

Consumption of electricity during 1967 was up approximately sixteen per cent over 1966 in Cherry-Todd Electric Cooperative! Astonishing? No! With five all electric heated homes and many new electrical appliances being added to the home in the past year, this fact is not so amazing.

We, the consumers of electricity from Cherry-Todd Electric have learned how economical electric living really is after the continuous rate reductions in the past years. These low rates have encouraged many people to use more electricity than ever before.

Local ownership of Cherry-Todd Electric keeps all investments and loans at home, so the consumer is able to use this "local money." If the cooperative was not locally owned, the profits could not be distributed in our area, thus neither the cooperative nor the consumers of Cherry-Todd Electric would benefit from the assets.

Cherry-Todd Electric is maintained as a non-profit organization, thus capital credit checks or dividends are sent to individual members of the cooperative to account for the excess of income over expenditures.

Our cooperative is located in a rural area which helps to stem city migration. Cherry-Todd Electric employs local labor which is very advantageous to our community. The excellent and prompt service of the office personnel and linemen satisfy the needs of each member of Cherry-Todd Electric Cooperative. In case of an outage, the outpost crew is very punctual in repairing the lines and restoring electricity to those affected. The employees are very efficient in repairing lines, and advising the installation of appliances and wiring.

Since the organization and formation of Cherry-Todd Electric Cooperative, a great revolution has occurred in the lives of most people in the community. These people can now enjoy the many luxuries of partial or total electric living—a dream of yesterday which has come true today. With electricity, fire hazards have been greatly reduced. Now a family has much security in knowing they don't have to leave a fire burning when they leave the home.

Cherry-Todd Electric members can take great pleasure in all the automation in their lives, thanks to electricity. Housewives can enjoy many electrical appliances, such as the automatic washer, dryer, and refrigerator. Only a few years ago, many hours of hard labor went into jobs that these appliances now do. The electric radio, stereo, and tele-

vision provide the family with many hours of comfort and relaxation.

The farmer also has many added conveniences with the electric drill, welder, and power saw. Never before has life been as comfortable as it is now with the many electrical devices and tools. Only a rural electric cooperative such as Cherry-Todd Electric could have made these provisions possible!

Perhaps the most important asset provided by Cherry-Todd Electric Cooperative is that it furnishes a way for its members to produce more than ever before and to use their energy, talents, and resources to make life better for themselves and their community.

#### THE VALUE OF RURAL ELECTRIFICATION IN OUR HOME AND COMMUNITY

(By Bill Adams)

(NOTE.—Contestant sponsored by Custer Public Power District, Broken Bow, Nebraska, in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association.)

A man in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, bred a tradesman, remote from the learned world, hit upon a secret which enabled him and other men, to catch and tame the electrical power in lightning. This master, Benjamin Franklin, made history by discovering electricity.

A new era was started when a small group of men in 1935 under the Roosevelt Administration, had the foresight and the initiative to carry through their dream of supplying rural America with electrical power. This invaluable servant has extended service to every member of my family and the community because now ninety eight per cent of the American farms have electrical benefits. Electricity performs some four hundred tasks that were formerly accomplished by manual or animal labor.

The "whether" has been taken out of farming with the electrically controlled irrigation systems, assuring the necessary amounts of moisture at the proper time. Electrically operated machinery to grind, mix, and automatically feed the livestock is at our fingertips. The use of welders and shop equipment has made former costly time-consuming trips to town unnecessary. This all adds up to the farmer's satisfaction of a day's work well done, and he has enough energy left to take part in family and community activities.

No longer can the city folks look upon the farm home with disfavor, since the rural homemaker has every convenience that her urban cousins enjoy, plus the serenity that comes with country living. The housewife knows that her family will be nutritiously cared for with food prepared on her modern electric range—food that in many instances had been previously prepared and safely stored in her home freezer or refrigerator. Every day is a "good wash day" with the electric washer and dryer to simplify the task. The family is much healthier than those of a generation ago with controlled heat, proper humidity, air conditioning, and adequate lighting helping to make it so.

I have, in my own short lifetime, seen the changes caused by electricity. Much has been done in the way of research to make it possible to have instant light by the flip of a switch and immediate enjoyment by the turning of a knob. We teenagers do appreciate the many electrical items such as shavers, hairdryers, typewriters and stereos.

The television and radio have accomplished a great deal to bring our family closer together. We can sit in our country home and enjoy the Olympic Games in a foreign land, educational material, and other entertaining programs. News events are instantaneously brought into our home and we have a better perspective and understanding of government affairs, the cold war, and new space events. We are also warned of inclement weather and impending dangers.

United States has always been a country

unparalleled in progress, and we're proud our agricultural community is one that has been able to keep pace and contribute to that tremendous development.

The value of rural electrification in our home and community has been great. Its influence will continue to exist far beyond our expectations—beginning that first day it came into our lives.

#### THE VALUE OF RURAL ELECTRIFICATION TO OUR HOME AND COMMUNITY

(By Sandra Thompson)

(NOTE.—Contestant sponsored by the Custer Public Power District, Broken Bow, Nebraska, in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association.)

I am a typical high school student from a typical ranching community in the Nebraska Sandhills. Although electricity is an intimate part of our lives every day, are we inclined to take it for granted? Perhaps if we recall a part of the history of rural electrification, we will gain a new awareness of its value.

When my grandfather came to Nebraska in 1907, rural electrification had never been heard of. History tells us of the hardships of the farmer during this period. The prices on his produce were falling, he was constantly in debt, and he could see no way to pay his increasing mortgages. To make his financial worries almost unbearable, the farmer was a victim of isolation and intense loneliness. Except for the social events that only occasionally brightened his monotonous labor, he was separated from all means of culture, recreation, or relaxation.

But this bleak portrait of the farmer's way of life was destined to be repainted. In 1935 the Rural Electrification Administration was created for "the generation, transmission, and distribution of electric energy in rural areas." In 1954 the long-awaited lines reached this Sandhills community. Let us reflect for a moment. What does this source of power mean to our home and community? How valuable is it to us today?

First, rural electrification has become a source of livelihood. Ranching is our business, and electricity has revolutionized the ranch. The old wind-charger supplied power, but it lacked both quality and quantity. Today our source of power is practically unlimited, and we are able to use it for equipment to increase our production. Twenty cows can be milked with an electric milking machine in the time it would take to milk five by hand. With an electrically-powered irrigation system a rancher can grow an immediate cash crop such as corn, or perhaps alfalfa and feed twice as many cattle on the same acreage as he could formerly.

Rural electrification also means liberation. It has rescued the rancher from much of his toil. Grain driers and augers are examples of these time- and labor-saving machines. Electric shop tools enable him to repair his own implements. Electricity has freed the ranch wife from as much drudgery as it has her husband. The automatic washer, dishwasher, range, and vacuum are sharp contrasts to their hand-operated counterparts. Her electrically-heated home is much more attractive and easier to keep clean.

But it is no profit to be liberated from something unless there is liberation to something. Thus rural electrification means a better way of life. Electrical machines and appliances have increased the leisure time of the rancher and his family and have given us profitable ways to use it. Our interests and viewpoints on life are broadened by increased social activities. Television, radio, and stereo provide pleasure, culture, and education. Through these we are made better American citizens because we hear the news from around the world and are able to vote more intelligently.

Yes, rural electrification is of great value to our home and community, to me, my family, and our neighbors. To us it means

livelihood, liberation, and life, an improvement over the past, and a hope for the future.

#### WHAT RURAL ELECTRIFICATION MEANS TO ME AND MY COMMUNITY

(By Kathleen D. Starman)

(NOTE.—Contestant sponsored by the Cornhusker Public Power District, Columbus, Nebraska, in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association.)

"A friend in need, is a friend indeed" is an old saying which can truly be applied to electricity—the friend which has supplied farmers with a means to meet hundreds of needs.

In May, 1935, the REA bill was signed by Franklin D. Roosevelt. It granted the appointed REA Administrator, Morris L. Cooke, the power to "initiate, formulate, administer and supervise a program of approved projects with respect to the generation, transmission, and distribution of electric energy in rural areas." The notion of rural electrification took to men's minds slowly, however, and most of rural America "remained in the dark" until the late 1930's. Fortunately, some local farm leaders believed that rural electrification was a development too important to be just a dream. Through their constant efforts, non-profit cooperatives were finally established making rural electrification a reality.

Electricity has become a number one necessity on today's farms. The decreasing rural population demands farmers to produce both crops and livestock to a maximum, at reasonably low costs to them. Electricity has proven itself to be the most efficient and economical way to meet these demands.

Dairying, an essential money-making operation on many farms, is made easy and efficient through the use of milkers and coolers.

The farmer, today, has the potential to care for more livestock through the use of electric augers which simplify feeding tasks and electric waterers which provide water for livestock the year round.

The welder, for do-it-yourself repair jobs, has found a place in numerous farm workshops because it greatly reduces maintenance expenses. Likewise, electric saws, drills and other construction tools enable the farmer to "turn" carpenter if necessary.

Providing water for crops is done by irrigation pumps, while electric dryer bins insure against crop spoilage after harvest.

In the poultry business, the rural housewife finds that electricity can be given credit for increased egg production through lighted laying houses and in keeping chicks alive in their first crucial days of life.

While electricity has changed the farmyard, it has also revolutionized the home. Today's modern rural homes are all-electric. Electric stoves, refrigerators, freezers, and other appliances enable the housewife to make good, nutritious meals easily. The formerly dreaded laundry days are now made less strenuous and time-consuming by using washers and dryers, leaving time for the housewife to care for her family.

Television and radio provide inexpensive entertainment for the whole family, while living in comfort the year-round is made possible by electric heat and air-conditioning.

As a working man, the farmer profits greatly by rural electrification, but he reaps many rewards in other ways. Increased leisure time gives rural people the opportunity to improve themselves socially. It enables them to participate fully in Church, school and community activities. It has made the rural population a happier, healthier people by eliminating the drudgery which made our grandfathers old before their time.

To me and my community, rural electrification means life—for electrification is the framework of our community and the pulse of rural living.

AN END TO INCITEMENT OF  
VIOLENCE

**HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN**

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, perhaps no amount of restraint can solve the continuing problem of mental sickness that afflicts millions of people at one time or another in their lives. But for those who do have complete possession of their faculties—the vast majority of Americans—there must be an end to the preachments of violence and anarchy in this country. The U.S. Constitution certainly permits intelligent and reasonable restraints on speech that incites to crime and violence and the Supreme Court owes it to the American people to so interpret it.

Freedom and justice will prevail in America but to assure this vital goal we must maintain law and order under a government of law and not of men. No citizen has the right to take the law into his own hands no matter how bitterly he may disagree with a particular law. The way to change things in our system is through representative government, not by using a gun.

I commend the reading of an excellent editorial in the Wall Street Journal of June 6, 1968, as all Americans rededicate themselves to this objective in the aftermath of the awful assassination of Senator ROBERT KENNEDY.

REVIEW AND OUTLOOK: THE PREACHMENT OF  
VIOLENCE

The attempted assassination of Senator Kennedy is a horrible event in a time of horrors, and the first reaction can only be an almost inarticulate sense of shock. Now as his life hangs in the balance, there must be a prayer that he will recover to be restored to the family he cherished and the nation he sought to serve.

Yet while the nation waits another thought intrudes. Is this murderous attempt, as many people are already saying, yet another sign that American society as a whole is profoundly and uniquely sick with violence?

Granted the act was that of a madman, and from the early evidence of a madman from beyond our shores. It is nonetheless a legitimate question how it happens that our society produces or shelters enough psychopaths to perpetrate these attacks on national leaders with such terrifying frequency.

If there is something radically wrong with contemporary society, we think in fairness it should be noted that it is not peculiar to America. Look practically anywhere in the world and you find violence, stupefying irrationality and incipient anarchy. Another way of putting it is that if there is sickness it is not just in any particular society or nation; it is in man himself.

Man has always been prone to violence. The anthropologists tell us he is one of the few animal species that deliberately and regularly kills his own kind, which is why there have always had to be elaborate codes and rules governing his conduct. In part the violence stems from the tensions to which man has always—even in the most primitive and seemingly bucolic ages—been subject.

Today special tensions exist, new in form if not in kind. One stems from the great increase in population; the habitable parts of the world are getting a little too crowded for comfort. Another aspect of the population increase is that there are bound to be many more people who are born or turn out to be deranged. Our national leaders, accus-

ed to circulate freely among the people, thus take large risks, risks which a good many leaders elsewhere seek to avoid.

In these circumstances, instant communications probably aggravate the danger. That is, an act of violence is known immediately everywhere, and it evidently creates in other deranged persons a desire to imitate. It is a well-known phenomenon that crimes of violence tend to feed on themselves.

Beyond all that, we think a special responsibility devolves on what may loosely be called the intellectual community, the people who set the fashions in opinion.

In the distorted rationale of many of them, violence is accorded an aura of legitimacy. This attitude is doubtless rooted in the fact that for a generation or more a marked permissiveness has been encouraged in home, school and judicial standards. Not surprisingly, ours is becoming, and not just here in America, increasingly an age when anything goes, and more and more that is coming to include actual crime.

Now intellectuals may be able to make fine distinctions between the kind of violence which finds Frenchmen ripping up paving stones and hurling them at each other and the kind expressed in the shooting of an American Senator. [From some of the foreign comments on the "shocking conditions" in America, you might think the current French orgy of violence and anarchy had never existed.] But psychopaths don't make distinctions; they are inevitably stimulated by the general condoning of violence.

And make no mistake, it is not only being condoned but applauded by opinion-molders. Ministers of God have been heard advocating violence under certain conditions in such causes as civil rights. Other intellectuals justify the violence at Columbia University as a useful advancer of social progress. These men are to be blamed for the precept and example they set, not least the encouragement they give to the deranged among us.

Most people of course do not accept these concepts. Indeed, their reaction to a specific crime and to violence in general is one of shocked disbelief. Still, the moral confusions and the resulting disorder are undeniably spreading.

There is literally no way, in any case, to prevent crimes like that at Los Angeles yesterday morning. Nor is there any easy way to see how man's drives, in an age of violence, are to be redirected to better purposes.

But at least the leaders of opinion can stop the preachment of violence and anarchy. They can begin—and it is high time—to reassert the urgent claims of order and reason for the safety of each of us and for the sake of society as a whole.

FEDERAL PAY RAISE

**HON. VANCE HARTKE**

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, in the past few weeks, there has been a strong movement in some circles to postpone the second phase of the Federal pay raise, which is due to take effect July 1. The New York Times today points to some very interesting aspects of that pay raise. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WRONG PLACE TO ECONOMIZE

Some Administration officials, agonizing over the necessity for sweating \$6 billion out of the Federal budget for fiscal 1969, are hinting that one painless way to cut would be to delay for a year the pay raise Government employees are scheduled to get July 1.

Such a solution would be a monstrous act of unfairness—a transfer to the backs of 2 million Federal workers of the responsibility for combating inflation that should be shared by all citizens. Big as it sounds, the \$1.6-billion pay increase the Government plans to give next year is merely designed to close part of the gap between Federal salaries and those for comparable jobs in private industry.

Workers performing essential public services and bound by a law that makes it a felony for them to strike cannot be told they must subsidize the rest of the population as a means of protecting everybody's dollar. And particularly not when the breakdown of the Government's wage-price guideposts is pushing up the cost of living and other workers are getting the biggest pay increases in history.

MEMO TO AN UNNAMED YOUNG  
GIRL

**HON. VERNON W. THOMSON**

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. THOMSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Ralph Goldsmith, editor of the Boscobel Dial in southwestern Wisconsin, not only received recognition by being elected as president of the Wisconsin Press Association, but won the distinction of having written the finest editorial of the 1967-68 State competition.

Mr. Goldsmith is my lifelong friend and constituent of whom I am very proud. It is a privilege and a pleasure to insert the full text of his prize-winning editorial in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows:

MEMO TO AN UNNAMED YOUNG GIRL

DEAR CHILD: We saw you the other day in the front seat with him. In fact, we saw you twice. On one occasion he came around the post office corner on two wheels, tires squealing. On the other he pulled out of a parking stall with wheels spinning and gravel flying.

Maybe he's a pretty nice boy. You must think so, or you wouldn't be riding with him. We don't like to disillusion you, either, because you are too young to know that there is something emotionally wrong with your boy friend. We don't need a psychologist to tell us this. All we have to do is watch him behind the wheel of a car.

There is so much of this sort of thing going on today that ordinarily we wouldn't even take the time, or editorial space, to talk about a single case. We are only hoping what we say will do some good, and perhaps prevent some pain, suffering and remorse on a lonely highway in the nighttime at some yet unknown time and place.

It is also because you looked like such a pretty and intelligent young girl, and because you have parents and friends who would be extremely sorry if something unfortunate happened to you.

The truth is, Miss Unknown, your boy friend, like many others who are still unstable and emotionally immature, doesn't even know the basic requirements for being a good driver. He is a show off, who must attract attention to himself by driving in a

dangerous and erratic manner. He hasn't the capacity yet to realize that he is torturing his automobile, subjecting the motor and tires to damage, and exposing you and him to serious injury or death.

He is able to steer a car, press down the accelerator, and take the corners with a flourish. Beyond this he is a brainless novice, who doesn't understand the first principles of engineering or the rules of safe driving. He wouldn't last a minute in an auto race with professionals. If he started now and devoted the rest of the next five years to training, he wouldn't get beyond the preliminaries in a top flight stock car race.

In 20 years of covering accidents in the newspaper business, we've been called out many times in the night to see the end result of this type of driving. We've seen broken, battered bodies, loaded on stretchers, some of them soaked in crankcase oil from their own smashed-up automobiles. We've seen pretty girls like you, so disfigured that even the ambulance attendants turned their faces away when they loaded them for transport to a hospital or morgue.

These are harsh words, but it's a harsh life, with 50,000 deaths a year and millions injured. The statistics show that the biggest percentage of accidents involve the age group of your boy friend, unmarried young men in the 17 to 25 bracket.

Here is a bit of good advice:

Tell your boy friend that if he wants to practice fast cornering or quick starts, to join an organized drag-racing club or try to get entered in a stock car race. He'll learn mighty fast that he doesn't know much yet about driving—that it takes skill and courage to be a good driver, plus brains. Any crazy fool can put a car on a public highway and press down on the foot feed, but there are only a small percentage of men in all of these United States who can be classified as skilled, professional drivers.

Test drivers and racing drivers don't squeal tires off the race track, nor do they spin their wheels from a standing start. They think too much of the cars they drive. Such antics are the badge of the novice, the show-off, the inexperienced young male who wants to be noticed—and is taking a mighty dangerous way of getting attention.

You tell him all of this and maybe he'll listen. If you don't tell him, and he keeps driving that way, you'd better get your folks to increase their insurance on you, and perhaps provide for a plot in the cemetery. Because the odds are great that this is where you will end up.

#### NASHVILLE BANNER CALLS FOR TAX SURCHARGE, \$6 BILLION REDUCTION IN EXPENDITURES

#### HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the Nashville Banner in a recent editorial called for passage of legislation providing for an income tax surcharge and a \$6 billion reduction in spending as a means of stabilizing our monetary system.

This is a timely and perceptive editorial and because of the interest of my colleagues and the American people in this most important matter, I herewith place the editorial in the RECORD.

The editorial follows:

#### SURTAX AND BUDGET CUT—FOR U.S. DOLLAR THE DOUBLE DEFENSE IS IMPERATIVE

Circumstances of extreme urgency—a discernible crisis that no longer can be ignored—demand action now to start on

setting the nation's fiscal house in order, in the only way it can be done: Enactment of the proposed income tax surcharge, and simultaneously a maximum (not minimum) cut in federal spending.

President Johnson's grudging consent to a \$6 billion cost reduction—given yesterday—heightens the prospect that this dual step toward a budget more nearly in balance will be swiftly adopted.

The handwriting on the wall is clearly legible, and a congressional majority in House and Senate has read it aright. Their ultimatum for the full saving therein stipulated was not a partisan gesture, but a stand of informed concern for the solvency of their country, imperiled by the government-bull inflation reflected in a sagging dollar.

U.S. financial authorities have known that. International banking circles have known it . . . the inevitable worsening of monetary crisis and attendant calamity unless intelligent action were taken to reverse the disaster course.

Tragic lesson one was underscored yesterday with the warning by Swiss bankers that the entire Western monetary system could collapse because the French franc had become "practically unsalable." De Gaulle's fiscal frivolity did not include contempt for gold; it did partake of reckless policies undermining the franc—and political irresponsibilities subjecting France to the worst of socialism's extravaganzas, and now the inroads of Communist thrust as Chapter Two in dismantlement of the republic.

Incidentally, as an index to this nation's concern for monetary stability (internationally) the U.S. Federal Reserve Bank rushed yesterday to bolster the franc by a \$100 million loan to France.

Nothing better serves the foes of freedom and democracy than economic crisis and fiscal collapse. They are bent on wrecking the Free World any way they can; the United States their major target.

To shore up the dollar is not merely a desirable end; it is imperative to national welfare, and to that of the whole international establishment monetarily related to it. That is why informed judgment has stood aghast at policies of attrition.

That is part of the handwriting on the wall: The absolute necessity of correcting the drift of these reckless years; the perpetually unbalanced budget, the mounting public debt consequent to ever-widening gaps between income and outgo, the shrinking dollar, and the furiously quickening pace of inflation.

Congress was right in recognizing the necessity of a tax surcharge, bitter as that pill may be. It was equally right in attaching to it the condition of a major cut in federal spending, simultaneously.

Nobody likes a tax increase, but taxpayers at every level—especially the working man—should remember that it is better to shoulder a reasonably added burden in that particular than to suffer the consequences of dollar devaluation for everybody.

The congressional stand, backed by the taxpayers, was one of reason and courage—and its refusal to back away from it finally has elicited White House agreement.

Now get on with it. Late as it is, Fiscal 1968 and '69 are not too late to make some of the repairs for lack of which the economic ship of state has been leaking at every seam, and listing badly.

#### CALUMET CITY'S DIAMOND JUBILEE

#### HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, it is my great pleasure to report to my

colleagues that on May 29, 1968, as the Representative of this distinguished body, I attended the diamond jubilee kickoff dinner at Calumet City in the district in Illinois I have the honor to represent. Messages of congratulations were received from the White House and from Vice President HUMPHREY. The telegram from the White House read:

HON. JOSEPH NOWAK,

Mayor of Calumet City:

The President was interested to learn about the Diamond Jubilee celebration at Calumet City on May 29th. He sends congratulations and warm greetings to all who will be participating in this special event. With the President's and my own best wishes for the continued growth and prosperity of your City.

WILL SPARKS,

Assistant to the President.

Mr. Speaker, there is not a finer, more beautiful and dynamic city in all this broad land of ours than Calumet City, whose mayor, the Honorable Joseph Nowak, has attracted national attention and acclaim. Mayor Nowak is rated among the top five mayors of medium-sized cities in the United States.

This year celebrating its 75th anniversary Calumet City has pridefully adopted the slogan, "We are half as old as the State of Illinois." Illinois, as is well known to everyone, is this year celebrating its 150th anniversary.

Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent I am extending my remarks to include the full schedule of events on the calendar of Calumet City's diamond jubilee celebration and also the historical dates since the founding of the city 75 years ago:

#### MAJOR EVENTS SCHEDULE

May 29, 1968: Diamond Jubilee Kick-Off Dinner.

June, 1968: Investiture of the Brothers of The Brush Celebration Belles Campaign.

July, 1968: Casting for Jubilee Spectacular Promenades & Kangaroo Courts Old Fashion Caravans.

August—Celebration begins.

August 23 & 24: Old Fashion Bargain Days.

August 25: Religious Heritage Day; Diamond Jubilee Ball.

August 26: Exhibits; Final Spectacular Dress Rehearsal; Giant Street Dance.

August 27: Heritage & Homecoming Official Opening of Diamond Jubilee Cutting of Giant Birthday Cake Hospitality Center Opens Premier Performance of Historical Spectacular August 27 thru 31 at TFN High School Football Field.

August 28: Jubilee Ladies Day Old Fashion Garden Party & Style Show Opening of Kiwanis Festival.

August 29: Calumet City Salutes Future, Health Fair, Military Displays & Exhibits, Time Capsule Ceremony.

August 30: Good Neighbor Day, Retail Merchants Breakfast, Business & Industry Luncheon, Professional Fire Fighters Exhibits.

August 31: Young America Day, Sports Program, Youth Government, Hobby Show, Arts & Crafts Exhibits, Final performance of Spectacular.

Sept. 2: Joint Parade with Kiwanis, Nightly Fireworks Display.

#### HISTORICAL DATES

1863—Schrum Family Settles.

1869—1st industry opens—G. H. Hammond Packing Co.

1870—Prairie School—1st school opened in West Hammond.

1888—1st Church Founded. St. John Ev. Lutheran Church.

- 1891—Adam Stachowicz, Harvey D. Reed & Grover Stevens opened up 1st subdivision.
- St. Andrew Church founded and dedicated.
- 1893—500 member community was incorporated as the village of West Hammond.
- 1898—1st Post Office opens in West Hammond.
- 1901—Disastrous fire totally destroys G. H. Hammond Packing Co.
- Hammond Packing Co. Founded.
- 1907—Pumping Station and Sewer System built.
- 1911—West Hammond becomes a city.
- Forest Preserves purchases Schrum land.
- 1912—Wentworth High School built.
- 1914—Volunteer Fire Department organized.
- 1918—Memorial Park and Fieldhouse built.
- 1921—Faith Bailey begins 1st City Health Program.
- 1924—West Hammond changed its name to Calumet City.
- 1925—City Hall built. St. Victor Parish established.
- 1933—TF High School burns.
- 1936—Church of Christ established.
- 1945—Central Construction Co. begins building Gold Coast.
- 1951—Library built.
- 1957—Our Lady of Knoch Parish established. Community Presbyterian Church established.
- 1959—Faith Bailey Health Center built.
- 1960—Wentworth Shopping Center Built.
- 1962—Calumet Expressway Opens.
- 1964—Calumet City School of Special Education built.
- 1965—Land for River Oaks annexed to city.
- 1966—River Oaks Shopping Center opens.
- 1967—1 million, 250 thousand gallon water tower constructed.
- 1968—Calumet City celebrates the 75th anniversary of its incorporation.

minds drift away from these critical situations. There is one situation we have drifted away from, although it has been evident throughout history. We might not think about this situation, but we can't forget it, because we have a reminder. This reminder is all the dirty little faces, the empty little stomachs, and bare little feet, that are all around us. Yes, this is the reminder, this is the crisis.

We can boast of being citizens of the greatest country in the world, and know that we are, but even in our own country, the United States of America, there are hungry people. Of course, nothing to compare with some of the foreign countries, but nevertheless, there are hungry people. This is the point. Our country is the greatest, richest, most powerful nation in the world, but in comparison, we are underdeveloped. Oh, we have the tallest buildings, fastest planes, boats, trains, cars, the most modern conveniences, a fantastic list of space achievements, yes, almost everything, but as long as we have one hungry mouth, we are underdeveloped.

Forty-five million out of our 300 million people are poor. Thirty million of this 45 million are poverty-stricken. We may find this hard to believe, because we can hide behind three square meals a day and never see, it but it's true.

Earlier this year a 25-member citizens Board of Inquiry into Hunger and Malnutrition, reported that almost 10 million Americans may be hunger victims, and that the situation among the poor is worsening. This private study group reported malnutrition in such diverse areas as New York City, Des Moines, Chicago, Boston, New Orleans, and even in Washington, D.C., the capital of our land. This is a saddening fact. There is another saddening fact I would like to mention.

I read in a recent newspaper that the murder rate was up 12% in 1967, and up 50% since 1957—33 Americans were murdered each day of last year.

You asked, "How is this connected with technical advancement?" Well, perhaps we are becoming so advanced that we feel smart enough to pass judgment upon others. Or, perhaps the shorter work week has given us so much spare time, that we become bored with the normal activities, and turn to crime for excitement. And then the answer may be that there is too little stress on the arts, humanities, and social sciences. Maybe if we knew more about the finer things of life, we could spend some of our spare time enjoying them.

We are so fortunate, not only to live in this country, but in this part of the country as well. We can jump into an automobile, and within minutes to be at one of the most modern military installations in the country. Not only is it a military installation, but it is also the workshop of the nation's space program. This place, the Redstone Arsenal, was once a small cotton market, but is now the buldier of the rocket ships that will carry man to the moon at speeds of over 25,000 m.p.h.

Between here and this space center, are some of the most beautiful farmlands you've ever seen, by-passed by modern highways, and bordered by a mighty river. This river, the Tennessee, was once a fast-running mud hole, but through the genius of technology, tamed and harnessed to produce so much power to so many people, some have never even seen it. There are dams and power plants on this river that equal any in the land. One of these near here, the Wilson Dam, houses the largest single lift lock in the world. Yes, we are so fortunate, but did you know, that within one mile of this space center, and on the edge of these farmlands, and on the banks of this mighty river, there are shacks, shacks in which people actually live, many of whom are half-starved. This is the reminder.

Since its lovely beginning just 300 years ago, our country has evolved as the greatest power in the world through technical ad-

vancement and achievement. Without this technology we would still be divided, or worse still, subject to another country's rule, but how far is too far. When you sacrifice human welfare for an airplane, a color T.V. or a rocket ship, this is too far. I believe in advancement and technology by all means, and hope to work toward it in the future in my own capacity, but I don't believe in over-looking to look ahead. What kind of an achievement would it be to reach the moon, and look back and see the dirty little faces, the empty little stomachs, and the bare little feet.

This reminder not only reminds us, but is here as an implement, a tool through which we can overcome the strife of the land.

We can overcome, because we see the need. I don't believe in giving anything but an opportunity. I do not believe in guaranteed wages, or overflowing handouts, because chances are, poor management put these people in their situation to begin with, nor do I want to stop all technical advancement until these problems are solved. What I do believe is that if we conduct our knowledge and technology in such a way as to provide this opportunity, we will be broadening the prospects of the future, and overcoming the handicaps of the past.

The Federal government has several programs going to help the situations such as the poverty program, housing programs, and urban renewal, and will spend \$10 billion for food next year, as well as \$5 billion for other aid.

We are still giving handouts instead of motivating these people to get it for themselves. We can restore some of this motivation by reducing the stress on the technical fields in education, and open up more fields in which the unfortunate can compete. Some of these people are no doubt hiding behind an inferiority complex. All we hear is space, science, and engineering. While this is fine, and a necessity, it is draining the moral of the people. Let's catch up on history, home economics, literature, and art and the humanities, as well as chemistry and aeronautics.

While this cannot be a short-run method of improvement, success will indeed be evident in the future.

The more hope we give today, the more contentment we shall enjoy in the future.

SECOND PLACE, ALBERT RAINS SPEECH CONTEST  
(By Mrs. Irene Monroe, Arab, Ala.)

Has our higher education been geared for the good of the whole man, or have we left the pendulum of education swing all the way to the right to science and technology thus neglecting the arts and humanities on the left? It took mankind 5,000 years to go from the sailboat to the steamboat, but only 100 years from the steamboat to the airplane. It took but 40 years from the air age to the atomic age and a mere 12 years from the atomic age to the space age. What is the next stage?

The United States in 1950 spent about 2½ billion dollars a year on research. In 1960, this figure jumped to about 10 billion dollars and by 1970, it is estimated that we will spend about 40 billion dollars. What kind of a universe are we creating?

Our desire to be scientific causes us to over analyze, over study, and over complicate this picture. We may even be over frantic. Books have been written, lectures have been given and workshops have been held but we are still puzzled about the nature of today's youth. Our present day youth simply have not been given a base to examine, accept, reject or modify.

Most of us in our forties can remember clearly the days of right and wrong, of black and white, and of clear cut priority list of values that were easy for us to recite and more easy to follow because we accepted or rejected them in total. This is neither

ALBERT RAINS SPEECH CONTEST  
WINNERS

HON. TOM BEVILL

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. BEVILL. Mr. Speaker, several years ago, my good friend and constituent, the Honorable Albert Rains, of Gadsden, Ala., was instrumental in establishing an annual speech contest at Snead College, in Boaz, Ala.

Down through the years this competition has provided a forum for the views of the students at Snead. It has offered them a platform for expressing their ideas concerning their country, their people, and the problems and challenges facing this great Nation of ours.

It was my privilege to have these speeches placed in the RECORD last year, Mr. Speaker, and at this time, under unanimous consent, I insert in the Extensions of Remarks of the RECORD the three top speeches in this year's competition, as follows:

FIRST PLACE, ALBERT RAINS SPEECH CONTEST  
(By Houston Ray Hodges, Huntsville, Ala.)

We are in the midst of a crisis. This is a word we hear so often, that it really doesn't alarm us as it once might have. In almost every magazine and newspaper we pick up, we find this word, usually preceded by other such familiar terms as urban, viet-nam, agriculture, racial, unemployment, and many more. As individuals, we can easily let our

praise nor condemnation, it is a picture of the world of our youth. There was greater uniformity in the accepted code, the base was there. We were taught to achieve, to strive for the top and to compete but not at the expense of other people.

This value structure based on what we accepted as the "higher values" was our security. This structure may have been a result of Christian ethics and the cultural pattern. Thus we knew which values had priority. Students of today are left to search for their own values. This search is even more complicated by the great mobility of our society. Friends and neighbors come from many ethnic backgrounds with a variety of cultural patterns.

Past history clearly shows that the Federal Government has a growing interest in helping the states to improve their educational systems. The Northwest Ordinance of 1785 supported education with a section of land from each township and the Ordinance of 1787 declared that "Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged". Federal tax laws long since have supported non-profit educational enterprises everywhere in the U.S.

The Morrill Act of 1862 was introduced during wartime to strengthen scientific agriculture. Additional funds for that act in 1890 were instrumental in quickening the acceptance of science and engineering into the curriculum of higher education. This kind of Federal support helped in our transformation from a third rate, rural agricultural nation into a powerful, urban-industrial nation.

The discoveries of scientific research amazed us just as miracles amazed our ancestors. At that time a tendency toward specialization arose. Special courses and schools were organized for the exclusive study of particular sciences and branches of science. It was thought a waste of time to pursue only cultural studies. The necessity for acquiring human comforts was fully recognized.

The decade of the 1950's with its clear signs of the social, economic and technological revolutions in which we live, prompted Federal aid for educational research and development, as in the Cooperative Education Research Program.

A summary review of some of the 1966 Federal enactments for the cause of humanity include Public Law 89-160 which authorizes language training be given dependents of members of the armed forces under certain circumstances. The International Education Act authorizes appropriations for international affairs institutes for secondary school teachers. It provides for financial aid to the states for centers for teaching modern foreign languages. Public Law 89-651 facilitates the international flow of educational, scientific and cultural materials. Public Law 89-665 establishes a historic properties preservation program and provides for the encouragement of education and training in historic preservation.

In the summer of 1967, there appeared in the daily press two very important stories proclaiming changes in the teaching of history. The first project was under way to develop a "new history" every bit as sophisticated as the celebrated "new math". The second one was a new approach to revitalize the teaching of history in elementary and junior high schools. Both projects were financed with aid of generous grants under the National Defense Education Act.

The Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, N.J. will set up a trial program in the social sciences for three years starting in the fall of 1968. The program will be financed by two grants of \$25,000 each by the Russell Sage Foundation and the Carnegie Corp. of New York. The new program will be concerned with social change.

A liberal education places true emphasis upon the value of education thus providing a theory for living. It assigns proper values to the things of the mind and of the spirit as the source of real satisfaction of life. It teaches those who are exposed to it to make fine distinction between the mere material and that which has lasting values. It also teaches them not to be side tracked into temporary attractive blind alleys of thought or of action. By following it they learn to keep their heads and to use them.

Our nation is moving in a post-industrial stage and society is increasingly dependent on its universities and the knowledge they produce and disseminate. Dr. Kaysen, an economist, said, "The time is ripe for a concentrated attempt to engage in scientific studies of social evolution." So with Federal aid and private grants we can have the pendulum of education return to a happy medium for the good of all mankind.

#### THIRD PLACE, ALBERT RAINS SPEECH CONTEST (By Mrs. Cheryl Mays, Albertville, Ala.)

One of the most significant phenomena taking place in our society today is our recognition of change. This nuclear-space age is a relatively new era in history. It was born some twenty odd years ago and has been growing rapidly ever since. But only within the past few years has society been aware of its present effects and those possible in the future.

Improved medical science has brought better health and a longer life span, but also an extended population growth. More automobiles and better roads have brought speed and convenience, but also traffic congested streets and a high accident rate. These and many other improvements have caused a multitude of economic, social, moral and political changes in our cities. But we have yet to feel the full influence rising from the development of new technologies. In this case, I refer to the advance made in nuclear energy and space travel. Naturally we hope that such progress will be beneficial, but it still adds to the total picture of change and strongly calls our attention to it.

In comparing our intellectual and cultural growth with America's scientific growth, an imbalance is noticed immediately. A strong desire to satisfy material needs at the expense of spiritual needs has dominated our reasons for doing the job. We set more production goals and fewer human goals. We think more of developing a system rather than an individual. In trying to attain our goals, we have overlooked the fulfillment of human values.

Our nation was founded on concern for the individual such as his freedom, welfare and pursuit of happiness. But today, our concern for achieving technical goals has somehow pushed the individual in the background.

At this point one might ask how this competition is affecting us. The lack of meaningful human contact is very evident in much of our current social behavior. Compare the "hippy movement" of today with the number of non-conformists twenty years ago. There is an excess of hero worship as noted in the rise of the Beatles and, of course, the exotic fads in dress and behavior.

Most of this acts as a form of release and fills certain superficial needs of the time. More important though, it calls our attention to the basic needs of a person to have an individual identity, a sense of purpose and accomplishment in his life, and outlets for his physical and creative energy.

In today's rebellion, once again we are made aware of the need for action to deal with it. We must be able to improve our social and psychological needs as well as our technological and economic ones. I feel we can achieve both by emphasizing in our plans and work the human values which we have had for ages.

One step we have made toward this goal

is the preservation of our natural beauty and resources. Another step that is being made is the restoration of our great American houses and documents through which our heritage was founded. And finally, the role our government has taken to support and encourage the creative arts.

At this point, I would like to comment on the attitude in America that government support of any educational or creative process would lead to its control and interfere with our most basic freedoms.

But the people who have this attitude overlook the fact that many of the world's greatest masterpieces may never have been created if it were not for the support of the patron. Today we have many individuals, foundations, and business organizations that are helping to support the scholastic and cultural efforts. But private support only begins to meet the needs being generated today. If we are to compete along the rapid scale of scientific advancement, we must have direct financial support that only government could supply. And within the American framework of thought and action, it seems highly unlikely that the government could control the arts.

Thus the National Endowment for Arts, the Federal Council on Arts and the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities have been created to boost our drive toward literary and scholarly pursuits.

In October of 1963, the late President Kennedy flew to Amherst College in Massachusetts to participate in a ceremony honoring the poet, Robert Frost. The talk at that ceremony best reflects what most Americans feel should be the goals of our country. I would like to conclude by quoting some of his most impressive statements:

"I look forward to a great future for America, a future in which our country will match its military strength with our moral restraint, its wealth with our wisdom, its power with our purpose."

"I look forward to an America which will reward achievement in the arts as we reward achievement in business or statecraft . . ."

"I look forward to an America which commands respect throughout the world not only for its strength but for its civilization as well. And I look forward to a world which will be safe not only for democracy and diversity but also for personal distinction."

SPEAKER JOE MARTIN

HON. JOHN C. KLUCZYNSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. KLUCZYNSKI. Mr. Speaker, it is a personal privilege to have this opportunity to join with my colleagues in paying tribute to the memory of Speaker Joe Martin. We were of different political parties, and often of differing persuasion in seeking to find the legislative policies that would best serve our Nation. No matter; the important thing was that it never ceased to be "our" Nation. Whatever our differences, we remained throughout Americans first and partisans thereafter.

It is this overriding characteristic, I think, that must stand out as the guidepost to the young people who learn by example from their elders. He was steadfastly faithful to responsibility.

It was a bonus to all of us who knew him, and particularly those of us who served with him, that he carried that recognized burden of responsibility with an unwavering belief in the stability of

the Nation. Frustration comes easy in the Congress, and cynicism is never very far behind. But no frustration was ever great enough to lead Joe Martin to cynicism.

The Republican Party is justly proud of Joe Martin, but what is even more important, the country is proud of him, and the better for having had his long and faithful dedication to it.

#### THE IMPACT OF U.S. CONTROLS ON FOREIGN INVESTMENT

### HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, Mr. John J. Power, Jr., president of Chas. Pfizer & Co., Inc., recently made a speech before the American Management Association on the subject "The Impact of U.S. Controls on Foreign Investment." His analysis is as clear and compelling as any I have yet seen.

Mr. Powers makes the following main points:

First. Between 1950 and 1966 the Government sector has been continuously in deficit in the total amount of \$87.6 billion. During the same period the private sector has been continuously in surplus in the total net amount of \$59 billion. But to cope with its balance-of-payments deficit, the Government is increasingly curtailing private sector investments, not governmental expenditures. Why should the burden fall so heavily on the private sector—the sector largely responsible for the inflow of dollars?

Second. From 1950 to 1966 the return on U.S. direct investments abroad returned more than \$20 billion in dividends, royalties, and fees alone. In addition direct investments encouraged U.S. exports as parents exported to affiliates abroad. But the Government is now curtailing direct investments overseas—thus reducing return on investment and U.S. exports.

Third. The payback period for outflows of U.S. dollars for manufacturing investment abroad is about 2½ years on the average. Every investment curtailed today will hurt the balance of payments in the very near future. The voluntary program begun in 1965 is already now in 1968 curtailing net inflows to the United States from investments that would otherwise have been made in 1965, 1966, and 1967.

Fourth. Direct investment is not an alternative to exports, but rather an absolute necessity to build markets abroad.

Fifth. The mandatory program now in effect introduces distortions into a business and weakens it immediately.

Sixth. The mandatory program upsets foreign governments by showing that the U.S. Government has the right to decide how earnings are to be distributed despite local stockholders, national sensitivities, and efforts on local capital markets.

Seventh. The mandatory program should be continued no longer than 1968. The basic cause of our problem—the ex-

cess of Government outflows over private inflows—must be attacked.

As Mr. Powers concludes:

We must return to a freer flow of investment and trade which, in an era of unrelieved political crisis, has been perhaps our brightest international achievement—and more than that, a necessary basis for ultimate peace in the world.

The speech follows:

#### THE IMPACT OF U.S. CONTROLS ON FOREIGN INVESTMENT

(A speech by John J. Powers, Jr., at an American Management Association special briefing, New York City, April 10, 1968)

The balance of payments of the United States has been in deficit every year but one since 1950. From 1950 to 1956 the deficits averaged \$1.5 billion. 1957 was a year of surplus. But in 1958 the deficit appeared again and increased substantially, and from that year to the present the deficits have averaged \$2.6 billion. Despite their persistence, there seems to be no general agreement as to the causes nor as to the cures, leaving this important part of our foreign economic policy in a continuing state of uncertainty.

Let us examine for a moment one very important area of disagreement which has persisted throughout the last eight years of debate on this subject. First let us look at the overall picture. Between 1950 and 1966 the United States Government paid out net in military expenditures, grants, loans and for various services \$87.6 billion. During the same period, corporations and private citizens brought into the country \$59.0 billion in excess of all private dollar outflows. In short, during this period the government sector has been continuously in deficit, and the private sector continuously in surplus. But the surplus has not been sufficient to cover the public sector deficit.

The U.S. Government, however, has sought to grapple with the problem not so much by curtailing its own expenditures but by curtailing private sector investments and especially the direct investments of American business in production and marketing facilities abroad. Businessmen have reacted to this policy with astonishment. From their own experience they know that their direct investments have returned substantial income to their companies in the United States, far greater than the direct investment outflows; indeed, that is the whole point of making the investment. And a look at the statistics for all industry confirms the experience of the individual companies. In the overall national accounts, direct investments are seen to be a star performer in the balance of payments, as I am sure most of you have found in your own examination of the record. If then such an examination suggests so clearly that the primary reason for a continuing deficit lies in government disbursements, why is so little done to reduce them?

#### NATIONAL POLICIES AFFECTED

To begin with, whether and to what extent we can reduce these disbursements present difficult questions affecting basic national policies. And after two decades, vast global commitments have been built into our political system. Though the seeds of crisis have been contained in these policies, the crisis has developed slowly. And now that it is here, our approaches to issues of foreign policy have become ingrained habits, and the budgets involved somewhat sacrosanct. It is true some effort has been made to hold down foreign aid or tie it to U.S. exports, but this has been due to Congressional pressure. Rather than face the disagreeable necessity of revising our commitments further, the whole thrust has been to look for alternatives, for expedients that is, that will permit us to continue the current level of government expenditures. I am not so unrealistic as to suggest the elimination or near elimination of military disbursements and AID programs.

But how much evidence do we have that we have tightened the belt in the management of these huge outflows so as to minimize the heavy burden on our payments position? Why should the emphasis rest so heavily on expedients affecting the private sector, which is to such a large extent responsible for the inflow of dollars? Indeed, in the past several years there have been proposals for or use of expedients such as the interest equalization tax, restriction of bank loans, tourist taxes, reduction of free entry allowances, buy-American purchase policies, import surcharges, border taxes and border tax rebates. There are two expedients in particular upon which special stress has been laid. They are the restriction of direct investments abroad and the strong promotion of exports. These two are related and are the subject of my particular interest in this paper.

#### WHAT ARE DIRECT INVESTMENTS?

First, direct investments. What do we mean by direct investments? Not portfolio investments nor bank deposits. But rather plant, equipment, inventories, warehouses, accounts receivable, and people, skilled and unskilled, of all colors, religions and languages. Direct investments are prosperous and productive business enterprises providing goods and services, giving employment, upgrading industrial skills, paying taxes, and in many cases giving a major stimulus to industrial and sociological development in a community or even in a nation.

The significance of such investments is now substantial. Since 1950 they have been growing at a rate of 10% per year. The average rate of worldwide growth of GNP is about 5% a year, so that such investments are growing at twice the rate of production. It is estimated that deliveries to markets from the foreign facilities of U.S. companies amount to \$110 billion or about four times the value of exports delivered to those markets (value of exports: 1965, \$26 billion; 1966, \$29 billion). It has been aptly pointed out that U.S. companies are creating a third economy in markets abroad. There is the U.S. domestic economy, the Soviet economy, and next in order of magnitude, U.S. business abroad.

I have already referred to the contribution of direct investments to the balance of payments. It is important to note that from 1950 to 1966 these investments returned in dividends and royalties and fees alone \$20 billion in excess of all outflows. But as every individual company knows, the returns were much greater than this. They included also the net inflows resulting from the trade of parent companies with their affiliates, that is, the surplus of exports to affiliates over imports from affiliates.

In highlighting the contribution of direct investments to the balance of payments, I do not intend to deprecate the importance of exports, or rather what is commonly called the trade surplus, that is, the surplus of exports over imports. I am saying, however, that in order to obtain a just and useful comparison of the relative contributions to the balance of payments of direct investments and the trade surplus, it is necessary to make some key adjustments. We must, as already suggested, reduce the trade surplus by the amount of the net inflow due to trade of parent companies with affiliates, and also it is necessary for fair comparison to eliminate those supported exports which were financed by the U.S. Government, particularly under the AID program.

#### CONTRASTS IN OFFICIAL POLICIES

Making these adjustments for the years 1964, 1965, and 1966 (the only three consecutive years for which figures are available), we find that the trade surplus for these years cumulatively was \$5.7 billion and the direct investment surplus was \$6.1 billion. There are thus two major contributors to the balance of payments, the trade surplus and the surplus derived from direct investment, but interestingly the public policy towards each of these contributors is not the same as one

might expect, but quite different. Every effort is directed by the government to increasing exports while restrictions are placed on direct investments.

What is the justification for such different treatment of the two star performers? Direct investments, it is now conceded, make a substantial net contribution to the balance of payments, but it is pointed out the inflows in any one year are the result of investments made in earlier years; and similarly, the accumulated inflows are the results of the investments of the years prior to those included in any selected period of years. Looking at the matter from the point of view of the short run then, it is argued that the returns from previous investments can be regarded, so to speak, as vested. Therefore, the argument continues, we can cut down current outflows while still preserving the previous rate of inflows and thus gain a short-term advantage, even admitting there will be a long-term disadvantage.

#### PAYBACK ON DIRECT INVESTMENTS

But what is the short term? There has been much discussion on this point since this rationale of restriction of direct investment was first advanced some seven years ago. Recently, Professor Behrman argued before the Joint Economic Committee that the payback period for outflows of U.S. dollars for manufacturing investment abroad is about 2½ years on the average. If this is right—and I must say, this estimate comes close to my own experience—this is a very short term indeed. In fact, 2½ years have already elapsed since the Voluntary Program was first introduced as an emergency measure. By now, therefore, we are experiencing a loss as a result of many investments that were not made and which would now be returning net inflows to the United States.

Isn't the short term too short to justify such a clearcut advantage in the short term when we restrict direct investments? There are two distinct approaches to this last question. The economist who often has the ear of government tends to apply a marginal analysis, thinking in terms of an additional increment of investment outflow and the returns to be ascribed to that additional increment. He tends to think of a new project more as if it were merely an investment than part of a gradually growing and developing business organism. He asks what is the rate of return, with the implication that investments will always seek the highest rate of return at any moment in time, regardless of other factors. The businessman, on the other hand, asks what is the market opportunity. Above and beyond the rate of return or payback on a single project he asks what is the relation of the investment to the whole operation. In short, he makes a basic judgment as to the potential of the market and the need, for example, to move now to establish, expand or protect market position. The economist sees restriction on direct investment as yielding a statistical advantage in the short run. The businessman sees it as an immediate infringement on the effectiveness of a going business operation resulting not later but now in loss of market share, financial strength or such intangibles as morale of personnel.

#### GOVERNMENT EXPORT PROMOTIONS

I will come back later to this question of the short and long run in connection with the discussion of the Mandatory Program. Meanwhile, it is important to say a word about the other expedient for improving the balance of payments which is of special significance to business, namely government promotion of exports. For years, successive administrations have exhorted businessmen to export and save the country. These exhortations are being heard again. They have not brought substantial results in the past. They will not now, because government export promotion programs are founded on an

illusion—the illusion that American international business is still what is used to be 30 years ago—largely a matter of swapping exports and imports. While the textbooks on international economics still labor to expound in great detail the nature and causes of trade, the world has moved on.

It is simply not possible in this decade of the 20th Century to establish a business effectively in most world markets in most products by exporting. I say most markets and most products because there are always some exceptions. By constant stress on exports, we perhaps obscure the facts of life of business abroad, or more specifically, the fact that successful market penetration usually requires building warehouse, creating and training and organization; it requires local sales promotion, and very likely, in the end building plants or assembly lines to back up the marketing effort; in short, it requires direct investment.

#### DIRECT INVESTMENT A MUST

To those who argue that direct investment is an alternative to exports, or that the process damages our international position because it involves export substitution, I would say that we would like nothing better than to sit in New York and manage an export operation. How very much simpler it would be to do that than to put down roots abroad, establish local organizations, build plants, negotiate with governments, and manage assets in foreign countries. Why don't we do it? Are we wrong? Is this a vast management error? I do not think so. We have not gone the exporting route because we can't get the business that way. Wherever we put a plant, where before we were exporting, it is because it was necessary to maintain and expand our business. If we had not done it in most cases, we would have lost the exports anyway and not gained more business through local production and distribution.

As Mr. Charles Stewart of the Machinery and Allied Products Institute recently pointed out so well, there is one central fact about international business that cannot be ignored, neither by an individual company nor by government. To obtain, hold and improve market position abroad requires an integrated approach in terms of direct investment in local plants, exports, licensing, and so on, operating throughout the world, in both developed and developing countries.

#### CENTRAL POLICY ERROR

The central error of current policy is the effort to segment and splinter international business operations—approving exports, discouraging direct investments, varying the permitted outflows and the required inflows between groups of countries, and to apply these highly distorting and detailed controls to the delicate structure of international trade and investment in the belief that the effects will be temporary and that there will not be serious economic and political repercussions.

Now—what of the Mandatory Program? What can we say of a more specific nature about it? With this program we have moved into a new phase in the process of increasing restriction, it is no longer a question of holding down outflows and bringing back earnings to the extent possible while maintaining the health of the business and the necessary momentum of growth. In Western Europe, the Mandatory Program requires that many companies actually remove from their overseas businesses, earnings required for their health and growth.

Most companies seem to pay out in dividends in the neighborhood of 50% of their earnings so that it would not be unreasonable to insist on the return of earnings to the United States of this amount or even somewhat more, at least for companies that are relatively mature in international business. Certainly in this emergency, no company should be allowed to hold dividends back in order to earn interest abroad. As it

is, however, many companies will be obliged to borrow solely in order to fulfill the requirements to remit a proportion of earnings, in many cases over 90% from Schedule C countries. And some will have to borrow again in order to repay the loan. And the introduction of such distortions into a business is not in the future. The business is weakened immediately—in the short run. It is surprising that it is difficult to convince some of this fact, though I suspect if the larger companies of the United States were asked to withdraw from operations 90% of their United States earnings this year, there would be a tremendous outcry, and the charge would rightly be made that we were drastically distorting the structure of the economy. By the same token, we are distorting by the current Mandatory Program the structure of that important third economy, American business abroad.

#### "SEED CORN" PARALLEL

There is no doubt that every businessman would wish to cooperate with the Administration in a short-term emergency. It is always possible to conduct an "efficiency campaign" in business, to squeeze for a while, cut costs, postpone some investments in order to provide larger immediate returns, all on the assumption that other measures will be taken promptly in the time thus bought, to permit the momentum of the business to be resumed before opportunities are lost or competition moves ahead. But we cannot forget that in restraining direct investment we are economizing on seed corn. I suppose one could conceive of circumstances severe enough to warrant eating some of the seed corn. But obviously the emergency must be both serious and brief, and it is crucial that effective plans for finally correcting the imbalance in our payments position meanwhile be implemented.

Though various programs have been initiated in the past seven years, they have focused on temporary benefits, ignored root causes, and therefore have not been effective. Once again in the Mandatory Program, attention is focused on temporary improvements in order to buy time. The alarming thing is that, as you remember, this same approach has been used in various ways since 1961. (At that time, the official view was that equilibrium would be reached in 1963). In 1965, in 1966, in 1967, and now in 1968 with the tightening of restrictions over direct investment, we have had a repetition of assurances that each new stage was only temporary. It is surely relevant to ask, however, after seven years, what have we bought with these repeated short-term measures? And to question whether present policy has the elements to correct the basic problem of the deficit.

Since the regulations were announced, companies have been bombarded with inquiries as to how the regulations are affecting them and will affect them and, as you all well know, it has been difficult to give a precise answer. For one thing, we have had to spend many man hours examining the regulations and interpreting them with respect to our business. After three months, it is still difficult to be precise about the impact of the program. It appears that the policy is to grant few or no exemptions until a company has proved it cannot make available funds from any other part of its worldwide operations and has exhausted all its borrowing resources. Relief, it seems, will only be granted when credit can no longer be obtained. I say that it is difficult to be precise about the impact of the regulations on the operations of the company, but perhaps that was not quite an accurate statement because this policy in effect seems to suggest that a company will get relief only when it is in serious financial condition.

The regulations in short will be forcing it to expand its borrowings to the limit of its credit and then it must hope and trust it can secure the necessary relief to permit its grave

financial position to be alleviated. It is not necessary to underline before an audience of this kind the difficulties and dangers of making any plans under such conditions. Moreover, it would appear that in many cases it is not so much an exemption that is granted, as a delay, with the understanding that anything conceded must be returned in the near future. On these points, we will probably be able to speak with more certainty as patterns of decisions begin to emerge from the Office of Foreign Direct Investments.

#### OTHER IMPACTS ASSESSED

There are other impacts of the program. There is no doubt, for example, that to a significant degree, though difficult to measure, companies with little or no current activity abroad have been discouraged or prevented from taking advantage of rapidly growing world markets, with permanent effects on the competitive position of the United States in those markets and permanent losses to the balance of payments. There is another impact also of great significance. I have in mind the effect of the program on the relations of U.S. companies with local governments and communities and their efforts to be accepted as corporate citizens seeking to serve the interests of the country of which they are residents. It has not always been easy, but most U.S. companies abroad have won a high degree of local acceptance because they have become sensitive, if they were not so at the outset, to the policies and attitudes of host countries.

The Voluntary Program to a degree, and the Mandatory Program decisively, cry to the high heavens that such companies are in fact American companies and that the U.S. Government has the right to reach in and direct how the earnings are to be distributed despite local stockholders, despite national sensitivities and in Europe, despite the secondary effects on local capital markets. At a time of rising nationalism these programs unfortunately confirm the worst fears of the host country that the affiliates of U.S. companies are in fact aliens in the national economy, subject to laws and regulations of a foreign state. I would predict that this new and radical extraterritorial claim will cause reactions and affect our operations abroad for years to come.

#### FUTURE DIRECT INVESTMENTS POLICY

What then should be the policy towards direct investments? The logic of the matter seems clear. In the relatively short period since the early 1950's, U.S. international business has built up dollar-earning assets which have become the major contributor to our balance of payments. Why not continue the process? It is working. It will continue to work if we do not ourselves kill it. It has been argued that all segments of the economy must make a sacrifice in the common cause and that therefore the private sector, far from expanding its operations abroad, must also take a cut. But such an argument makes no sense if the cut is counter-productive, if the so-called sacrifice is, in fact, a sacrifice of the end we are seeking, namely, an improvement in the balance of payments. And, unhesitatingly, I say that it is on this point that I rest my case.

As to the Mandatory Program, I can see no basis for continuing it beyond 1968, and its administration in the remaining months of this year should be on a more flexible and realistic basis, obtaining whatever belt-tightening gains there may be in it without diminishing valuable American assets abroad. Most important, we must attack the basic causes of our problem, and I mean the excess of government outflows over private inflows, and also, though time does not permit more than a mention of it here, bring about changes in our international monetary system that would improve the overall adjustment process.

#### DANGERS OF INDIFFERENCE

I recognize that most of those present at this meeting are concerned with the problem of interpreting the regulations, seeking relief, if possible, and bringing about the best possible adaptation of the company to the hard circumstances imposed upon it. This, of course, is an important objective. At the same time, we cannot be indifferent to the longer term problem of bringing about a change in the policy. It is difficult for business leaders to criticize government policy at a time of emergency and run the risk of appearing unpatriotic. And yet we must speak the truth of the matter as we see it. Certainly, if we do not discuss these crucial issues in terms of our experience and discuss them publicly, then we cannot expect our views to be considered in the making of policy. The fact is, these are complex matters, and no one has a monopoly on economic wisdom with respect to them.

Businessmen must continue, therefore, day in and day out, to explain their operations abroad and relate them to major current issues such as the balance of payments and world economic growth and development. They must, at the very least, urge on the United States Government, policies that make economic sense, that harness the dollar-earning power of business operations abroad to the needs of U.S. foreign policy, without weakening those operations. They must reassert the priority, now being lost, of the free flow of investment and trade which, in an era of unrelieved political crisis, has been perhaps our brightest international achievement—and more than that, a necessary basis for ultimate peace in the world.

#### THE SUGARCANE FARMERS' PLIGHT

### HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the American cane farmers—like many other agricultural producers—face a serious financial crisis as a result of a nonflexible, controlled production quota.

They are a part of the U.S. economy—their dollars stay in our country. Their crisis is our problem—they seek relief—we must come to their aid.

I include the statement of Mr. William S. Chadwick of New Orleans, La., given before an informal meeting of the House Agriculture Committee and interested parties in full text:

STATEMENT OF WILLIAM S. CHADWICK, REPRESENTING LOUISIANA AND FLORIDA SUGARCANE FARMERS AND PROCESSORS, INFORMAL AGRICULTURE COMMITTEE MEETING, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, MAY 14, 1968

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee: My name is William S. Chadwick. I reside at New Orleans, Louisiana, and I am President of Southdown, Inc., a sugar cane farmer and processor of the Mainland Cane Sugar Area. I appear here today as a representative of all of the approximate 5,000 sugar cane farmers and the 49 sugar cane processors of the State of Louisiana and the State of Florida, who collectively comprise what is designated in the Sugar Act of 1948 as the Mainland Cane Sugar Area.

We are deeply appreciative of this opportunity you have granted us to appear before you in this informal meeting and explain, to the best of our ability, the critical situation that faces our sugar cane farmers and processors

today. We believe after listening to the facts of our case you will realize our plight is, indeed, a serious one, that there is great merit to our cause, and that remedial action would be fair, equitable and proper and, moreover, should undoubtedly be taken quickly.

The facts are simple. All other domestic sugar producing areas, both cane and beet, are operating today completely without acreage restrictions. The sugar cane farmers of the Mainland Cane Sugar Area have meticulously complied with all of the acreage restrictions and requirements imposed under the Sugar Act of 1948. Nevertheless, the inventories of sugar in our Mainland Cane Sugar Area have increased to the point where it is presently contemplated that a 22.5% acreage reduction will be imposed for the 1969 crop. This reduction will be on top of two reductions already imposed since 1964 which aggregated approximately 15%, or a total average cumulative reduction beginning in 1969 of about 35%. Some farmers would suffer a reduction as high as 40%.

The prospective 1969 acreage reduction of an additional 22.5%, in the absence of remedial legislation, is not a figment of our imagination nor is it an exaggerated prediction with a self-serving purpose. You will find attached to my prepared statement, as "Exhibit A", a copy of a letter dated April 16, 1968 from Mr. Tom O. Murphy, Director, Sugar Policy Staff, A.S.C.S., United States Department of Agriculture, addressed to Honorable Edwin E. Willis, Congressman from the Third Louisiana District. It is the Director of the Sugar Policy Staff, who states, based upon the assumptions contained in his letter, that an additional 22.5% reduction can be expected in the Mainland Cane Sugar Area for the 1969 crop.

At this point let me say to you, so that we will be ever mindful, that for the most part our sugar cane farmers are engaged in one-crop agriculture. They have no profitable substitute crop to which they can turn. Their sugar cane crops, planted at substantial costs, represent at least a three year investment. Their expensive, highly specialized machinery and equipment has no other use.

It is very pertinent that we closely examine the conception, birth and growth of our problem in order to understand why and how this problem developed. Such examination and understanding is critical to your final conclusions. They will indicate that our present excessive inventories of sugar did not result from any farmer exceeding his production quota, nor did they result from any action by the Mainland Cane Area farmers or processors in prevailing upon the Secretary of Agriculture to temporarily remove production quotas. We particularly desire to negate any statement or implication that we are endeavoring to have the Congress exonerate us from a position of peril that we brought upon ourselves. Nothing could be further from the truth.

The records of the Department of Agriculture will show that every pound of the sugar comprising our excessive inventory was produced from sugar cane grown on acreage authorized in conformity with the provisions of the Sugar Act and the restrictive regulations and orders issued thereunder.

On May 17, 1963 because of the threatened world shortage of sugar and spiraling sugar prices, the Department of Agriculture announced that the maximum production of sugar in the United States was needed, and that no acreage restrictions would apply to the 1964 crop in our area. We do not desire to be critical of the Department and realize the tremendous pressure on it brought about by the prospects of a sugar shortage. The Department has had a very difficult job, and in most instances should be highly commended. However, in self-defense, let us point

out that we strongly opposed the removal of restrictions prior to their removal. We of the Mainland Cane Sugar Area had suffered excessive inventory pains to some extent in the past, and we desired to avoid this in the future.

On April 10, 1963, more than thirty days prior to the removal of restrictions, the Department of Agriculture conducted a public hearing at New Orleans, Louisiana, to receive views and recommendations with respect to establishing farm acreage quotas, known as proportionate shares under the Sugar Act, for the 1964 crop in the Mainland Cane Sugar Area. At that time there had been discussions concerning the removal of quotas because of the threatened world sugar shortage. I appeared at that hearing on behalf of the American Sugar Cane League, representing the sugar cane farmers of Louisiana, and read into the record a stipulation entered into between representatives of the Louisiana producers and of the Florida Producers to the effect that our acreage in 1963 and 1964 should be increased not more than 10%. At that hearing, and on behalf of the sugar cane producers represented by me, I said:

"If the increase were made anything larger than 10% in 1964, the fear and risk of an unreasonably large and burdensome inventory on January 1, 1965 becomes very realistic in our minds. *This is a risk that we are not willing to assume.*"

This stipulation and the quotation from my testimony is found in the record of that hearing on file in the Department of Agriculture.

The direct result of this removal of restrictions by the Department was an increase from 471,000 to 577,000 acres of sugar cane in the Mainland Cane Area. With the addition of this 106,000 new acres, primarily by new producers and on new land, and with some increase in yield per acre on established acreage, it was inevitable that our production of sugar would increase rapidly, and it did.

Next, chronologically, we entered into discussions and negotiations with other domestic areas with respect to a renewal of the Sugar Act which would have expired at the end of 1965. These negotiations took place in 1964 and 1965. In these negotiations we, the Mainland producers and processors, found ourselves in a most unenviable position. We could not eliminate the 106,000 new acres that had been added when 1964 acreage restrictions were removed. Under the terms of the Sugar Act the Department of Agriculture felt compelled to recognize the new producers and the new acres substantially in the same manner as it recognized the old established producers and established acres. The new producers told the Department that you, the Department, urged us to come in and now, you cannot destroy us.

Under the Sugar Act as then written the basic quota for our area was 895,000 tons, with the right to share to a limited extent in consumption needs of the Continental United States when the consumption estimate exceeded 9,700,000 tons. We had a known established production capability in excess of 1,100,000 tons, having exceeded that figure from the 1963 and 1964 crops. We had 106,000 acres of new sugar cane, the eventual production capability of which we did not know. Other domestic interests also wanted increases in their quotas. We could not exist without the protection afforded by the Sugar Act, and an agreement was imperative before the Act expired on December 31, 1965.

Finding ourselves in this position we made the best agreement we possibly could under the circumstances. Our basic quota was increased from 895,000 tons to 1,100,000 tons, and we gave up the right to share in consumption increases between 9,700,000 and 10,400,000 tons. We reached this agreement although we realized there would remain in

effect a 12.3% acreage reduction previously imposed upon us.

Let me here hurriedly point out that the increase from 895,000, to 1,100,000 tons in our basic quota did not result, as the mathematics may imply, in an effective annual increase of 205,000 tons in our quota. If the quota provisions in the Act today were exactly as they were prior to the 1965 amendments, our quota today, including our share in consumption increases at today's consumption level, would be 1,009,873 tons. *This means that our increase today, pursuant to the 1965 amendments, is not 205,000 tons but only 90,000 tons.*

The new quota provisions became effective in 1965, and under 1965 crop acreage restrictions our acreage was reduced 12.3% under the 1964 acreage. Production from the 1964 crop in Louisiana was reduced as a result of damages suffered from a severe hurricane. The 1965 crop in Louisiana was reduced by another hurricane "Betsy" and in Florida by a severe freeze during the crop harvest. However, the area nevertheless produced its full 1965 quota. The outturn of the 1966 crop was reduced by a severe and early freeze in Louisiana on November 3rd of that year, but the Mainland Cane Area exceeded its 1966 quota by 113,000 tons.

In spite of a 12.3% acreage reduction beginning with the 1965 crop, and in spite of two hurricanes and two freezes in three successive crop years beginning in 1964, last year (1967) representatives of our area proposed and were given by the Department of Agriculture, an additional 5% acreage reduction for the 1968 crop.

Our 1967 crop, recently completed, produced on government approved acreage but with no natural calamity, 1,457,000 tons of sugar, or 288,000 tons in excess of the quotas for our area.

Now, what is the result of our production during these several recent years, on acreage that was legal, authorized, restricted, hurricane damaged, and freeze damaged. This is graphically demonstrated by the chart attached to my statement as "Exhibit B". On January 1, 1968, our effective inventory in the area was 1,068,000 tons of sugar or 97% of our quota for a full year. As I have stated, because of this we are faced with a 22½% acreage reduction in 1969 on top of reductions aggregating 15% already imposed.

There is a solution to the problem. As you know, there is a substantial deficit by Puerto Rico in filling her quota and this deficit will continue. *We propose that the Puerto Rican deficit be allotted to the Mainland Cane Sugar Area to the extent, and only to the extent, necessary to prevent additional acreage reductions in our area and additional increases in our inventory. We are willing under existing circumstances to carry our present high inventory and we are also willing to continue our present reduced acreage levels. We cannot do more than this, if we are expected to survive.*

Our proposed solution, in merely permitting production by farmers and processors in our area to be maintained at present, reduced levels, would thereby at least sustain them and prevent an economic catastrophe. At the same time, *this solution would not do an injustice to nor create a hardship on any other domestic area. In fact, the solution would not take away from any area, either domestic or foreign, any quota that it could have realistically contemplated receiving when the Sugar Act amendments of 1965 were enacted.* Our proposal is essential to the continued success of the Sugar Act. One of the purposes of the Sugar Act, as specifically stated in its title, is "to protect the welfare.

... of those engaged in the domestic sugar-producing industry." Obviously, an acreage reduction of 35% in 1969, and probably more thereafter, does not connote protection of the welfare of those who must innocently so suffer. Let us not forget that while we are

in this critical inventory position because of restrictions that must be imposed upon us under the Sugar Act, under this same Sugar Act acreage restrictions are not now imposed on any other domestic area, and we are the only domestic sugar producers, or producers supplying the domestic market, who are being forced to reduce production. While our sugar cane farmers are being told that in 1969 our acreage must be reduced 35% under 1964 levels, the beet farmers of the 21 beet producing states and the Puerto Rican cane farmers are being encouraged to expand production.

Let us now consider whether there are any justifiable reasons for opposition to our proposal by other domestic sugar producing areas or by foreign countries who share in our domestic market.

Obviously, the proposal if enacted cannot have any adverse effect whatever on other domestic producing areas or on the farmers and processors comprising such areas. Under no circumstances and under no contingency could the quotas of the other domestic areas be adversely affected by our proposal. Also, no other domestic area can complain that it is not being given similar treatment, for the very good reason that no other such area, even without acreage restrictions, has an excessive production or inventory of sugar. As I have stated, no other domestic area is producing today more sugar than is permitted under its existing quota.

Also, the domestic refineries lose no refining volume, for our proposal merely substitutes Louisiana and Florida raw sugar for foreign raw sugar, all of which must be refined.

The Republic of the Philippines, which is given special quota treatment under the Act, cannot properly complain of our proposal because that nation is not producing more than its existing quota of sugar and, therefore, under the Act as presently written is unable to participate in the deficits of other areas to which she is now entitled.

With respect to other foreign countries, the framers of the Sugar Act have given preference to the Western Hemisphere Countries. Let us, therefore, see if these foreign Western Hemisphere Countries have any valid ground to complain of our proposal which, as I have pointed out, is so essential in protecting the welfare of the farmers and processors of Louisiana and Florida, two states of our own nation.

Attached to my statement as "Exhibit C" is a chart which clearly shows that the foreign Western Hemisphere Countries have benefited greatly and continue to benefit under the 1965 amendments to the Sugar Act. *In fact they benefit to a greater degree than does the Mainland Cane Area.* "Exhibit C" shows very vividly how very well the foreign Western Hemisphere Countries have fared since 1964 and how the Mainland Cane Area has fared during the same years. This chart clearly shows that even if there had been no deficit reallocations whatsoever, the quotas of these foreign countries would have been increased each consecutive year since 1964. Therefore, these deficit reallocations were not solely responsible for these increased quotas. They only added to the very substantial increases already permitted under the 1965 amendments to the Act.

Please note, the solution to our problem proposed by us does not take from any foreign country any portion of its basic quota nor any portion of the Cuban quota which they now receive. Under the proposal we would be allotted only a part of the Puerto Rican deficit. Next, also please bear in mind that in adopting the 1965 Amendments, the Congress did not allocate all of the Puerto Rican deficit to Western Hemisphere Countries, but rather allocated 47.22% of that deficit to the Philippine Islands. The Act then says if the Philippine Islands cannot use this 47.22%, it finally goes to the Western Hemisphere Countries.

Therefore, this 47.22% then goes to the Western Hemisphere Countries under the present Act not as a primary or not as a secondary beneficiary, but only after the primary and secondary beneficiaries have shown an inability to use this quantity of quota. Therefore, it appears obvious to us that in 1965, when the present quota provisions were formulated, the receipt of this 47.22% by the Western Hemisphere Countries could not have been a realistic expectancy in the minds of anyone, but at the most could have been only a hope. Actually, the quantity resulting from the allocation of this 47.22% would solve our problem.

We now direct your attention to that portion of the "Exhibit C" chart which shows 1968, assuming our proposal is enacted by the Congress. It also assumes a Puerto Rican deficit of 550,000 tons, a consumption estimate of 10,600,000 tons and that 250,000 tons were allotted to our area under our proposal. While restoring the welfare of the farmers and processors of our Mainland Cane Area, the negligible effect on the Western Hemisphere Countries becomes obvious.

At this point, in considering the position of any foreign country, let us not forget or overlook the rather serious balance of payment problem that our nation is experiencing today, and that our proposal would contribute towards the solution of mitigation of the balance of payment problem. It has been stated by those who apparently oppose any solution to our predicament that there is no merit to our "balance of payment" argument, since we have a favorable balance of payment position with these Western Hemisphere Countries; and a cut in our purchases from those countries would only reduce their ability to purchase from the United States. Obviously, if we were considering a choice between a reduction in purchases from Western Hemisphere Foreign Countries and from other foreign countries, we should reduce purchases from other foreign countries where we have an unfavorable balance of payment and of trade. But Louisiana and Florida are not foreign countries. They are a part of the United States and make all of their purchases in the United States. Every dollar spent in purchasing Louisiana and Florida sugar stays in the United States.

It has been said recently by our opposition that a change in the quota provisions of the Sugar Act now "would destroy the delicate balance which the Congress achieved in 1965." We specifically deny that a "delicate balance" was achieved in 1965. The results were reached as a result of "horse trading", if you will, and concessions made out of necessity as I have previously stated. The "balance" is not too delicate when we consider that under the 1965 Amendments it was anticipated that the domestic share of the total U.S. market would be more than 61% whereas in 1967 the share was actually only 57%. More significant, in considering the excess inventory position of the farmers and processors of our area compared to the deficit position of most other domestic producing areas, it must be admitted, we find not "delicate balance" but gross imbalance, the very antithesis of balance.

It is said by those who desire to prevent a reasonable solution to this serious problem, that our proposal violates an agreement made in 1965 among the various segments of the domestic sugar industry, that the Sugar Act would not be reopened until it was necessary to do so in considering an extension of the Act prior to the end of 1971. This is not a correct statement. No agreement reached among the domestic sugar producing areas took away from any of them the right of the producers of any area to reopen the Act in circumstances such as prevail today. A proposed written agreement was prepared which if entered into would have precluded the participating parties from reopening the Act

under any circumstances. That proposal was not agreed to.

It should be obvious that representatives of the Mainland Cane Sugar Area would not have and could not have agreed in 1965 to any stipulation or condition which would permit our acreage to be reduced by 35% without an effort on our part to correct this situation. The specific language used by us in 1965 in refusing to enter such an agreement was that we did not have a crystal ball good enough to permit our agreeing unconditionally to the terms and provisions of the Sugar Act through the year 1971. We did agree, that if an attempt were to be made by us to reopen the Act prior to 1971 we would first speak with representatives of the other domestic areas and explain our situation. This we did do on March 4th of this year.

We have been warned of the dangers involved in reopening the Sugar Act because of other amendments that may be proposed. We are cognizant of such possible dangers, and such dangers always exist to a more or less degree. However, this is somewhat like a warning to a drowning man of the danger of stepping in quicksand if he is able to get out of the water. The known danger and consequences of the severe acreage reduction which we face at this moment, necessarily outweigh those unknown dangers which might possibly result from reopening the Act. We have confidence in the fairness of this committee and its ability to obtain passage of a bill which is equitable for all concerned.

It has been claimed that our proposal would hurt the sugar market by introducing too much sugar into the Gulf area. Last year, 1,862,000 short tons of sugar were imported into the Gulf area. Our proposal merely substitutes a relatively small quantity of domestic sugar for foreign sugar. That argument is therefore without merit.

Let me emphasize, and I ask you to carefully note and bear in mind, that in the Sugar Act the domestic sugar industry was divided into "areas" because of convenience and geography. Unfortunately because of this division into areas, many persons in considering our problem are too prone to talk and think in terms of that large impersonal grouping referred to as an "area". But, an area has no mind and no body. As such, an area cannot feel the pangs of hunger nor the pain of economic catastrophe. The framers of the Sugar Act in declaring one of the purposes of the Act is "to protect the welfare . . . of those engaged in the domestic sugar-producing industry" were obviously not thinking of an area. They were thinking of people, of the welfare of the individual sugar cane and sugar beet farmers and processors each of whom is a citizen of these United States, each of whom is engaged in the domestic sugar producing industry and each of whom is a human being or comprised of human beings and entitled to protection. This is so whether the producer's farm is located near Clewiston, Florida, or near Lewiston, Utah, or in the Red River Valley of Louisiana or the Red River Valley of North Dakota and Minnesota. The requirements of the Sugar Act are not satisfactorily met by pointing to an area total when people within that area are seriously damaged.

Finally, I ask you to also bear in mind that if this problem is not solved now, in 1968, it will not solve itself in 1969. It will not be gone tomorrow morning like a bad dream. Unless corrective measures are taken now, the problem will be compounded and worsened by production from the 1968 crop. Our effective inventory on January 1, 1969 will exceed our effective inventory on January 1, 1968. Therefore, necessarily our efforts must continue, and if we are not now successful will continue and be redoubled out of desperation. Because we believe the American people and their representatives in the Congress of the United States are fair and just

we must and do believe that we will succeed in our efforts to protect ourselves, because our cause is fair and just.

## EXHIBIT A

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF  
AGRICULTURE, AGRICULTURAL STA-  
BILIZATION AND CONSERVATION  
SERVICE,

Washington, D.C., April 16, 1968.

DEAR SIR: This is in reply to your letter of April 4, signed also by other members of the Louisiana Congressional Delegation, in which you asked for replies to five questions. Our answers are in the same order as your questions. A similar letter is also being sent to the other members of the Delegation.

1. The total sugarcane acreage allotment for the mainland cane sugar area for the 1968 crop is 84.9 percent of the total acreage for the area's unrestricted 1964 crop.

2. It is difficult to estimate the additional acreage cut the Department must impose for the 1969 crop in the absence of new legislation. The principal difficulties are that we do not know how much sugar the 1968 crop will yield nor what the yield per acre for the 1969 crop may be. The yield of sugar per acre for the 1966 crop was 2.37 tons and for the 1967 crop, 2.83 tons. Weather was ideal in Florida for the 1966 crop and in both States for the 1967 crop. The prime question is to what extent favorable weather influenced the yields and to what extent improved varieties were responsible. A further question arises with respect to inventories which are now larger than desirable. However, assuming (1) effective inventories on January 1, 1970 (sugar on hand plus that to be processed from the crop after the turn of the year) at the same level they were at the beginning of this year, and (2) yields for the 1968 and 1969 crops of 2.60 tons of sugar per acre (the average for the good crop years of 1966 and 1967), a reduction of 22.5 percent from the 1968 acreage would be required.

3. No other domestic sugar producing area has acreage restrictions for the 1968 crop.

4. There is no possibility of production reduction restrictions in Hawaii or Puerto Rico for the 1969 crop. The possibility exists with respect to the sugarbeet area. Beet sugar inventories are unusually low and need to be replenished. On the other hand, sugarbeet growers expect to plant an acreage this year which with average yields would produce somewhat more sugar than the area's 1968 marketing quota. During the late summer, it is possible that the progress of the crop would suggest higher-than-average yields. In that case, the question would arise should the 1969 crop be restricted as a safeguard against the possibility of both larger acreage and, for a second successive year, high yields. A hearing will be held on this matter during the summer.

5. Cane sugar refiners distributed 6,684,443 short tons, raw value, of sugar in 1964; 6,737,550 in 1965; 7,040,740 in 1966; and 7,183,563 in 1967.

We will be happy to furnish any further information you may wish.

Sincerely yours,

TOM O. MURPHY,  
Director, Sugar Policy Staff.

## THE FOOD STAMP PROGRAM

HON. HOWARD W. POLLOCK  
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
OF ALASKA

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, I am joining the distinguished gentlewoman

from Missouri, LEONOR K. SULLIVAN and 107 other Members of this body, as a co-sponsor in legislation to provide greater flexibility in assuring that no American has cause to go hungry in this land of plenty and I wish to associate myself fully with the remarks of the Congresswoman from Missouri.

In Alaska we have many native residents who reside in areas of extreme and abject poverty. One of our native leaders during a recent trip to Washington asked a cab driver to take him to the worst slums in the area. After viewing several riot-torn areas which were the subject of national news coverage this last April, the native leader commented, all these areas have electricity—many Alaskan native villages have none; all these areas have sewers and pure water piped directly into the buildings—many Alaskan native villages have none; all these areas have paved streets and sidewalks—many Alaskan native villages have none; all these areas were readily accessible to grocery stores, drugstores, or other necessary commodities which are taken for granted—many Alaskan native villages have none.

Although I fully realize that this proposed legislation is somewhat of a departure from the cherished principles of specifying in advance the exact amount to be authorized, I firmly believe the circumstances of human dignity require special and urgent consideration.

Mr. Speaker, the food stamp program can help many needy Alaskans and I urge speedy action.

#### TALKS ARE JUST A PHASE OF WAR TO COMMUNISTS

### HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the Spartanburg, S.C., Herald of June 3 contains an editorial entitled "Talks Just a Phase of War to Communists."

This timely editorial reflects the feelings of a great part of the American public who think and hope that the talks in Paris will bring some kind of acceptable peace in Vietnam. The editor points out that many Americans have been misled in placing too high a value on the Vietnam peace talks and that they are expecting too much too soon. He also tells of the warning by a group of prominent citizens that there is unmistakable evidence that Ho Chi Minh thinks of negotiations as another way to fight a war. In effect, the North Vietnamese leader views negotiations as just another weapons system to employ in combat.

Many Americans who did not agree with the war in Vietnam before are strangely quiet now that the peace talks in Paris have begun. For the first time, they are seeing the obstinance of the Communist negotiators as well as their brutal step up of fighting in South Vietnam.

The editor concludes with the thought that one-way deescalation will not do and that soon the United States will have

to reassert its determination not to capitulate either on the battlefield in Vietnam or at the conference table in Paris.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### TALKS JUST A PHASE OF WAR TO COMMUNISTS

Fervent hopes have sprung up in American hearts that, soon, the fighting in Vietnam will cease. The boys, we hope, will be coming home instead of dying.

But the contradiction of headlines in the daily press underlines, all too clearly, that the dream of peace remains just that.

Each side on the battlefield struggles to gain a record of victory and a position of strength to back up its negotiators in Paris.

The headlines from Paris keep alive the expectation of eventual settlement. After all, the Communists would not remain in conference there if they were not willing, at some point, to reach some agreement.

From Vietnam, the headlines tell of more intensified fighting: "Americans Dying at Record Rate During Peace Talks."

"Many Americans have been misled into placing too high a value on Vietnam peace talks and expecting 'too much too soon,'" a group of prominent citizens warned recently. The group included, besides numerous religious, educational and business leaders, former President Dwight Eisenhower, former Sen. Paul Douglas of Illinois, James B. Conant, Gen. Omar Bradley and Gen. Lucius Clay.

"There is unmistakable evidence that Ho Chi Minh thinks of negotiations as another way to fight a war—in effect, as another weapons system," they said.

The history of the tortuous negotiations that took place in the midst of the Korean war is classic proof of the truth of this statement.

Eventually, however, the Red Chinese realized that pressure on the battlefield was gaining them nothing at the bargaining table and got down to serious discussion about an armistice. It has not yet dawned on the North Vietnamese that we, no more than they, are not about to give up in Paris that which we have not lost, and do not intend to lose, in the paddies and jungles of South Vietnam.

Thus the insanity continues and the discouraging headlines and heartbreaking casualties repeat themselves week after week.

If there has been no progress in Paris so far, how much can there be as long as one side refuses to agree to the first step toward peace, a mutual scaling down of military activity—indeed, refuses even to admit that a single one of its soldiers is on the soil of South Vietnam?

Those who protested so much against America's involvement in the war are strangely silent now. Those who complained of America's inhumanity are amazingly blind to Hanoi's brutal step-up of the fighting.

Soon, the United States must reassert its determination not to capitulate, either at the battleline in Vietnam or the conference table in Paris.

One-way de-escalation will not do.

#### MEDAL OF HONOR WINNERS

### HON. ROBERT V. DENNEY

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. DENNEY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to boast about the largest city in my district and

its record for producing Medal of Honor winners.

Of the 33 Medal of Honor winners from the Vietnam war, at least three are or have been residents of Lincoln, Nebr.

Lincoln is the hometown of Army Sp5c. Charles Hagemeister who was honored by the President of the United States at a Pentagon ceremony May 14. His mother, Mrs. Alvina Hagemeister, was present at that time.

Another man honored the same day was Air Force Capt. Gerald O. Young, who lived in Lincoln with his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Orren V. Young, until they moved to Colorado. His grandparents, Mr. and Mrs. Clint Young, still are Nebraska residents.

The third man was Army 2d Lt. Robert J. Hibbs who attended Southeast High School in Lincoln from 1954 to 1957 and was awarded the Medal of Honor posthumously in November 1966.

Hagemeister, 21, was recommended for the Medal of Honor for 6 hours of continuous heroism in a vicious fight on the coastal plain of South Vietnam. Army officials estimated Hagemeister, a medic, killed six or seven enemy soldiers, using a .45-caliber pistol, a M-16 rifle, and a M-79 grenade launcher, which he picked up off the battlefield. He exposed himself to enemy fire repeatedly to treat and evacuate the wounded of his 1st Air Cavalry Division platoon.

His commendation stated:

Specialist Hagemeister's repeated heroic and selfless actions at the risk of his own life saved the lives of many of his comrades and inspired their actions in repelling the enemy assault.

He has seven other awards for his duty in Vietnam.

Captain Young was commander of a helicopter rescue crew that was shot down in November of 1967. He got himself and a wounded companion out of the burning helicopter, evaded the enemy, and observed them setting up automatic weapons as a trap around the downed craft.

For more than 17 hours, despite severe pain, Young refused offers of help until it was safe for rescuers to land in the sea.

These Lincolnites, Hagemeister, Young, and Hibbs, have name plates in the Pentagon's new Hall of Heroes. They represented their State and served their country admirably.

#### FREEDOM BY LAW

### HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Sid Rufus, 5232 44th Street NW., Washington, D.C., attempted to submit a letter to the editor of the Washington Post, which he entitled "Freedom by Law." The text was returned to him by the editorial department of the Post.

Mr. Rufus, in submitting the paper to me, says:

I am not a writer. I am a broken-down working man . . . retired on social security

disability pittance. I've tried for this Equal Opportunity stuff you hear about, hoping for a chance to take an education course in writing and have the opportunity of augmenting the pittance. But no avail; no smoke; I am white and I am not a welfare case. I tried from H.E.W. on down to Rehabilitation and hit brick walls. And like I said: I have no voice to speak on my behalf.

As I would like to afford Mr. Rufus the opportunity of having his views heard, I welcome this opportunity to include the full text of his letter at this point in the RECORD, as follows:

**FREEDOM BY LAW**

(By Sid Rufus)

Man is man because he was so created or because he evolved into being. From either viewpoint human beings are Homo sapiens, the most sapient, sagacious, and perceptive of the species. They enjoy not the privileges of a Garden of Eden nor the instinctive freedoms of the laws of nature. Man must produce or procure his own food, clothing and shelter. He provides for his own being, and must initiate systems of order to protect himself from his own kind. Natural laws of the cosmic order are ever present for him to observe and study and employ to his advantage and for his benefit in the constant struggle of civilization, the struggle of mankind. But only man-made laws, rules enacted and enforced by man himself, can protect him from himself, from his fellow man. As nature is governed by an order of natural laws and is free only as those laws prescribe, so are men only as free as the laws of their societies proclaim—as free as their temporal statutes condone and their spiritual philosophies advise. Mankind determines its own welfare and decides its own freedoms—so it has been decreed by a Higher Court, a paramount Judgment.

Since neolithic history man has sought ways to govern and protect his specie; to be a family, a community, a civilization. Laws have been made and used. Nations have been born. Governments have been formed and reformed.

Out of the long history of government by the sword there has come a government by the people. There has risen a nation free from dictation—a free country which has begun a free world, and which now holds that position of responsibility in a changing civilization. That nation, of course, is ours—a nation of us people, by us, for us. The greatest piece of governing legislation yet written is the Constitution of the United States of America, a firm and solid yet amendable set of guiding rules—flexible enough to ride with the changing tides and winds of time but strong enough to hold and stand on its foundation of truth and justice.

Though written in a period when prevailing circumstances and conditions prevented legislating certain inalienable rights as declared in the Declaration of Independence, the wisdom and foresight of Article Five of that manifesto has kept the doors open for better legislation, for amendments calling for new laws, to changes bringing full rights and liberties to all citizens. Reviewing the bloody history of mankind's fight for freedom, our own liberties should never be taken for granted nor allowed to be challenged in any manner. They are too precious and too hard to come by. Ours is not a freedom by dictation. It is not a freedom of nature. It is not an endowment by the Creator. Ours is a Freedom by Law.

Willful disobedience of one law does not insure enactment of another. A law—Itself—may, under our democratic system of justice, be challenged and tested as just or unjust and thereby be given its day in court, to be proven right or wrong by the judicial administration of our free society. But to deliberately misuse, abuse, or defy laws pertinent

to the safety and welfare of others, to inconvenience and incite danger to innocent people or damage to property is to aid and abet the enemies of freedom and destroy freedom itself.

Antisocialists who would place themselves outside or above the law would find it easier and wiser to live within the law of the land. Laws of the jungle are much more severe than the laws of democracy, and the laws of totalitarianism are much more restricting than those of a free people—free to dissent.

Our law insuring freedom of speech is so written as to allow one to express his opinion without slander to another. The laws granting us the privileges to assemble and to demonstrate are so written as to permit people to gather and act without subversion of those privileges, without threat to our democratic way of living. Our freedom is constituted by law and protected by law.

Citizens, regardless of title or position, who advocate and openly preach massive civil disobedience are as guilty and as dangerous to our freedom as are any hooded hoodlums who, too, take the law into their own hands. Delinquents, juvenile or adult, not brought to justice, threaten destruction of a free society. The summoning of groups or the assembling of masses to break the law incites violence, violence breeds rioting, rioting invites martial law, and martial law constitutes a police state. A police state is not a free state.

Without proper organization of law and order to guide and control him, man would be the lowest of the animals; his sapient intelligence would make him so.

**THE LATE SENATOR ROBERT F. KENNEDY**

**HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE**

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, this is a very sad day for America. Once again our Nation has been shocked by the horrible murder of one of its young and able leaders by an act of insane violence. This is not only a senseless and outrageous crime perpetrated by a fanatic, whose bullet was laden with hatred, but one that will only serve to aggravate our problems rather than solve anything.

This crime is totally repulsive to all decent Americans. Our way of life is not violence. American society has always lived and thrived on morality, justice, freedom, tolerance, understanding, and law and order. Alien ideologies and principles based on anarchy, violence, and chaos have no place in America. They only serve to divide our people and to weaken us at a time when we should stand united and strong in the face of attacks from abroad.

Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY gave his life for his people and his country. Like his brother, the late President John F. Kennedy, he too died in the service of his Nation whose honor, prestige, and way of life he tried to uphold. He was a statesman and patriot of the first order, he had abiding faith in America, and as such he represented the very fiber of the heart and soul of our Nation.

Now we are bereft of a very capable leader who, had he been privileged to live, would surely have continued to render great service to the people of the

United States. Unfortunately, he was not destined to do so. In this most tragic hour for the Nation as a whole, our hearts go out to his family whose loss is so overwhelming. We can only weep with them in silence, but completely shaken to the very depths of our souls. His sudden and tragic death is a tremendous loss for all of us.

**FEDERAL EMPLOYEES DESERVE PROTECTION OF THE RIGHT-TO-WORK LAW**

**HON. LAURENCE J. BURTON**

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. BURTON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, together with a number of my colleagues I am sponsor of legislation to guarantee the right of Federal employees to join, or refrain from joining, employee groups, associations, or unions. I believe it should be the right of every employee of the U.S. Government to join a union and participate in its lawful activities. But I also believe that these employees have a corresponding right, equally as important, to refrain from joining if they so choose. Apparently there are many Federal employees in my district who share this view. I have received numerous letters, including petitions with many signatures, from persons employed by the Federal Government in Utah urging that a right-to-work bill for Government workers be enacted. In a recent editorial the Ogden Standard-Examiner spoke up forcefully in favor of this legislation. Its message merits the full consideration of Members of Congress and I, therefore, take this occasion to bring it to their attention:

**U.S. EMPLOYEES RIGHT-TO-WORK RULE**

A strange—and disturbing—silence still hangs over the White House in connection with presidential Executive Order No. 10988.

This order, issued originally by President Kennedy, governs the federal government's own labor-management relationships.

The latest available figures show that Uncle Sam had more than 2,634,000 civilian employes, including 38,000 in Utah, most of them in the Greater Ogden Area.

At stake in proposed amendments to Order No. 10988 is the right-to-work of all of these thousands of federal workers, particularly their right to join—or not join—a union.

Hearings on the possibility of changing the order were conducted last October, but a peculiar veil of silence has settled over the status of the order ever since.

A few weeks ago columnist Ralph de Tole-dano, in an article printed on this page of the Standard-Examiner, wrote that a move was afoot toward what amounts to compulsory union membership for the federal workers.

This report caused, as it should, widespread consternation among the Civil Service employes throughout the country, particularly in our area.

Hundreds of telephone calls were made and telegrams and letters sent to members of the Utah congressional delegation, protesting such arbitrary action.

Compulsory unionism would not only build an ultra-powerful political machine but would enrich the treasuries of the labor

organizations involved to the tune of many millions of dollars. Most importantly, the right of decision on unionism would be taken away from those working for the federal government.

As a direct result, Utah Sen. Wallace F. Bennett has introduced a bill in the Senate that would guarantee the U.S. employees their basic, fundamental right to choose whether or not they should join a union.

Identical legislation has been introduced in the House by Rep. Benjamin B. Blackburn, Georgia Republican, on behalf of himself and 11 other sponsors, including Utah's First District Republican representative, Laurence J. Burton.

Both legislators, in presenting their bills, emphasized that Executive Order 10988, as originally issued on Jan. 17, 1962, by President Kennedy contained this clause.

"Employees of the federal government shall have, and shall be protected in the exercise of, the right, freely and without fear of penalty or reprisal, to form, join and assist any employee organization or to refrain from such activity."

They also pointed out that then-Secretary of Labor Arthur Goldberg had, on Jan. 20, 1962, told members of the American Federation of Government Employees that "the union shop and the closed shop are inappropriate to the federal government."

Secretary Goldberg had added that organizations, to gain members, would have to "win acceptance by your own conduct, your own action, your own wishes, your own wisdom, your own responsibility and your own achievements."

So the original opposition to any infringement on federal employees' right-to-work is clear.

Yet, the rumors keep cropping up—as reported in the De Toledano column—that "union security" clauses will be written into Executive Order 10988 by amendments, unless prevented by congressional action.

The Standard-Examiner has repeatedly tried to ascertain from its Washington sources just what the White House proposes to do about amending the order. Every query is met with "no comment."

Until the Johnson administration shows signs to the contrary, we can only interpret this continued silence as support for the rumors that compulsory unionism is being considered.

And as long as that threat remains, Sen. Bennett, Rep. Blackburn, Rep. Burton and others of a like mind are certainly acting in the best interests of our country in pushing for enactment of their bills which they would call the Federal Employee Freedom of Choice Act of 1968.

#### TESTIMONY IN OTEPKA CASE REFERRED TO JUSTICE DEPARTMENT FOR POSSIBLE PROSECUTION

### HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, at its regular meeting on June 5, 1968, the Senate Judiciary Committee adopted the following resolution to be referred to the Justice Department for review of possible prosecution charges:

Resolved by the Committee on the Judiciary of the Senate of the United States, That testimony given before the Subcommittee on Internal Security of the Committee on the Judiciary, by John F. Reilly, David I. Belsie, and Elmer D. Hill, with regard to

the Otepka case, shall be referred to the Department of Justice for a determination with respect to whether any prosecution is warranted.

#### ADM. HUSBAND E. KIMMEL: ONE OF OUR GREATEST MILITARY MARTYRS

### HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, anyone whose memory extends back to December 7, 1941, can never forget the shock resulting from the infamous Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. To most of our citizens the attack came as a complete surprise. Relatively few then realized that it was the culmination of a long and determined effort to involve the United States in the war then going on in Europe.

The story of this involvement, based on examination of State Department confidential correspondence and manuscripts in the National Archives and Library of Congress, was published in 1952 by the Henry Regnery Co. of Chicago, in the monumental book by Dr. Charles C. Tausill, "Back Door to War: Roosevelt Foreign Policy, 1933-41."

There were two official scapegoats of that attack, Lt. Gen. Walter C. Short, Commanding General of the U.S. Army in Hawaii, and Adm. Husband E. Kimmel, Commander in Chief of the U.S. Pacific Fleet then based at Pearl Harbor. General Short died in 1949 and thus did not live to see his own vindication.

Admiral Kimmel expired on May 14, 1968, having lived long enough to see his name vindicated by the well-informed public.

Because of the historic association of Admiral Kimmel with Pearl Harbor, I quote a most illuminatory obituary on him from the Evening Star of May 15, 1968, and an admirable editorial appraisal in the Chicago Tribune of May 16 as part of my remarks, as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, May 15, 1968]

#### ADM. KIMMEL, 86, IS DEAD—COMMANDED AT PEARL HARBOR

Rear Adm. Husband E. Kimmel, 86, commander of the Pacific Fleet when Japan's sneak attack on Pearl Harbor drew the United States into World War II, died yesterday at his home in Groton, Conn., of an apparent heart attack.

He was one of the two officers who bore the brunt of criticism after Japanese bombers on Dec. 7, 1941, shattered the fleet anchored at the Hawaiian base.

He and the late Lt. Gen. Walter C. Short, Army commander in Hawaii, were relieved of their commands within 10 days. Adm. Kimmel retired three months later, and spent much of his time since defending his record against what he called "a bum rap."

In an interview on the 25th anniversary of the disaster, he said, "My principal occupation—what's kept me alive—is to expose the entire Pearl Harbor affair."

#### ASSAILED ROOSEVELT

Adm. Kimmel was the No. 2 Navy man in America, commander of the combined U.S. and Pacific fleets, when Japan knocked out 18 ships and killed 3,435 Americans in the

Pearl Harbor attack. He was second only to the chief of naval operations.

"They made me the scapegoat," he said in the interview last year. "They wanted to get the United States into the war."

By "they," he explained, "That was President Roosevelt and Gen. George Marshall and others in the Washington high command."

"FDR was the architect of the whole business. He gave orders—and I can't prove this categorically—that no word about Japanese fleet movements was to be sent to Pearl Harbor except by Marshall and then he told Marshall not to send anything."

A few weeks after the most stinging defeat ever suffered by the American Navy, a presidential board of inquiry laid "dereliction of duty" to Adm. Kimmel and Gen. Short, who died in Dallas, Tex., in 1949.

#### CALLED ERRORS OF JUDGMENTS

But four years later, a congressional investigating committee reported there had been "errors of judgment" but that these were "not derelictions of duty."

Adm. Kimmel, fighting to the end to clear his record, predicted that history eventually would clear him.

Former President Harry S. Truman, a senator at the time, charged the disaster came in large part from rivalry and communications problems between the Army and the Navy. When he became president, Truman successfully sponsored the unification of the armed forces under a secretary of defense.

#### JAPANESE CODE BROKEN

Security reasons kept Kimmel from making public until 1946 his own version of the incidents leading up to the attack. He said then that Washington withheld from him intercepted Japanese messages which might have made Pearl Harbor into a U.S. ambush to trap the Japanese.

A congressional investigation revealed the United States had broken the most secret Japanese communications but that neither Adm. Kimmel nor Gen. Short had been informed of it—for fear of alerting the Japanese that their code had been broken.

Fleet Adm. Ernest J. King, wartime chief of naval operations, said in 1948 that Adm. Kimmel and Adm. Harold R. Stark, chief of naval operations on Dec. 7, 1941, had been guilty of "errors of judgment as distinguished from culpable inefficiency."

Army and Navy inquiry boards found that errors of judgment in both Washington and Hawaii had contributed to the American loss, but that a court martial was not warranted.

#### LOST TRACK OF UNITS

A congressional committee discovered that some days prior to the Pearl Harbor attack, American intelligence had lost track of some major units of the Japanese fleet.

The 1941 naval war plans chief, Adm. Richmond Kelly Turner, testified before the committee that he had concluded that most of Japan's navy was at sea.

Some of the Japanese units appeared committed for action in the South China Sea, he said, but he thought that there was an even chance that the rest of the fleet would raid Hawaii.

Adm. Kimmel, Adm. Turner testified, had been warned sufficiently to be prepared for an attack there.

Eight members of the 10-man Senate-House investigating committee blamed military men in Washington and Hawaii, and said President Roosevelt and his cabinet acted "with distinction, ability and foresight."

Two Republican senators said in a minority report, however, that Roosevelt and others high in civil and military authority had failed to fulfill their responsibilities.

Three years after the congressional hearing, Adm. Kimmel told a reporter: "I rested my case then, and I shall rest it with the public, having made all the facts of which I was cognizant available to them."

An Annapolis graduate, Adm. Kimmel had specialized in gunnery and administrative work.

He served in European waters in World War I, emerged as a commander and made captain in 1926 and rear admiral in 1937. For three years he was budget officer of the Navy Department.

At one time he had served as aide to Roosevelt, who passed over many senior officers years later to give Adm. Kimmel the top Pacific command. At the time of the attack, Adm. Kimmel was at 59 one of the youngest fleet commanders in modern history.

Adm. Kimmel went to Groton in 1947 and built a home there after he gave up a job as a consultant with a New York Engineering firm.

He leaves his wife, the former Dorothy Kinkaid; two sons, Edward of Wilmington, Del., and Navy Capt. Thomas K., of Annapolis; a brother, Manning M. of Hampton, Va., and nine grandchildren, one of whom, Thomas K. Jr., was graduated from Annapolis in 1966.

Services will be at 11 a.m. Friday at St. Andrew's Chapel at the Naval Academy, with burial in the Academy cemetery.

[From the Chicago (Ill.) Tribune,  
May 16, 1968]

#### A MILITARY MARTYR

Rear Adm. Husband E. Kimmel, commander in chief of the Pacific fleet when Pearl Harbor was attacked by Japan from the air on Dec. 7, 1941, is dead at the age of 86. He was the victim of a political cover-up by the administration of President Franklin Roosevelt and its military hangers-on and went to his grave without formal vindication, but with the honor, sympathy, and exculpation of his professional associates and all those countrymen aware of the shabby processes by which he was made the scapegoat for the disaster.

Altogether vilified by the artfully contrived propaganda of the Roosevelt and Truman administrations, Kimmel was a model of fortitude under adversity. It was the sedulous object of this propaganda to plant the impression that the admiral and his army opposite in Hawaii, the late Gen. Walter C. Short, were solely to blame for the enemy success which ushered the United States into World War II.

The late Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox, a Republican interventionist, brought into Roosevelt's Democratic cabinet, was first dispatched to Pearl Harbor to make an inquiry. Upon his return, he and Roosevelt ordered the removal of Kimmel as commander of the fleet. Gen. George C. Marshall, army chief of staff, in combination with Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson, took similar action against Gen. Short.

A Presidential commission headed by Justice Owen J. Roberts of the Supreme court then appeared in Hawaii to justify this summary procedure. It acted under Roosevelt's orders to limit its findings to "derelictions of duty or error of judgment on the part of the United States army or navy personnel." These instructions excluded any consideration of responsibilities in official Washington.

The Roberts commission dutifully held that Kimmel and Short were guilty of "dereliction of duty." The administration throughout the war indulged in the pretense that it was only waiting for the end of hostilities to bring Kimmel and Short before a general court martial. Adm. Kimmel bore this stain on his reputation with stoicism, as he did the loss of his eldest son in action with the navy in the far Pacific.

Neither the admiral nor Gen. Short was ever given his day in court. Adm. Kimmel's first opportunity to tell his story was before the joint congressional committee which investigated Pearl Harbor after the war. His rebuttal of the charges was lost among the millions of words of transcript which con-

cealed the salient facts about Pearl Harbor. In 1955 he published his account in "Admiral Kimmel's Story."

Until the war was over, it was never disclosed that American intelligence had broken the Japanese "purple" code 17 months before Pearl Harbor and that Washington authorities were privileged to read in advance the unmistakable intention of Japan to go to war and to attack Pearl Harbor. This wealth of information was never communicated to Kimmel and Short.

The administration's strategy was that Japan should be maneuvered into firing the first shot in such a way as "would unite all our people." Adm. Kimmel maintained that the Pacific fleet was regarded as an expendable "lure for a Japanese attack" to serve this purpose. Altho Washington, for the record, sent him various contradictory and ambiguous "warnings," without ever mentioning the decoded information at its disposal, it also ordered him to strip his Oahu defenses at the very time the attack was coming.

Adm. William F. Halsey, commander of the famous 3d fleet, commenting on the devices by which the admiral was made the scapegoat, told Kimmel, "I believe you and Short were the greatest military martyrs this country ever produced, and that your treatment was outrageous."

Kimmel's own judgment was: "I cannot excuse those in authority in Washington for what they did. They will be judged at the bar of history. In my book they must answer on the Day of Judgment like any other criminal."

#### VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY'S MESSAGE FOR DELIVERY TO THE AIR FORCE ACADEMY

#### HON. FRANK E. EVANS

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. EVANS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, the tragedy which befell this Nation yesterday morning caused Vice President HUBERT HUMPHREY to cancel his appearance and commencement address at the Air Force Academy graduation exercises.

Before his departure, Vice President HUMPHREY prepared a message to be read to the graduating class by Secretary of the Air Force, Dr. Harold Brown. I would like at this time to insert that message into the RECORD:

MESSAGE OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, AIR FORCE ACADEMY, COLORADO SPRINGS, COLO., JUNE 5, 1968

I am sure that the class of 1968 will understand the circumstances which prevent me from joining them on this day.

I leave with you some thoughts upon the events of last evening.

Our sorrow is for the man and for his family which has already known too much tragedy. Our grief is that this dreadful act should follow on other dreadful acts of violence which have taken place in the recent history of this country.

How can we explain these acts within the framework of our free and democratic society? What is the flaw which reoccurs among us and brings us such shame?

We cannot explain. We can only determine as a free people that such madness shall not reoccur.

Today our needs as a nation are clear: To be strong . . . to face the full reality of what this dreadful act means . . . and to pray.

No nation conceived upon the proposition

that free men are able to peacefully govern themselves can do otherwise than to go on with its work—the work of building a society where tensions and hate may finally be replaced by unity and love.

May God, in His infinite mercy, be with those who are the victims of this shameful act and may God forgive and help us all.

#### POVERTY IN MINNEAPOLIS: LIKE IT IS, BABY—II

#### HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, I insert in the RECORD the following article, which appeared in a Minneapolis Star series entitled, "Poverty in Minneapolis: Like It Is, Baby":

A CITY IS DYING: THE YOUNG AND MORE PROSPEROUS FLEE TO THE SUBURBS—THE POOR REMAIN—OUR CITY IS FOLLOWING THE SAME PATTERN

(By David Nimmer)

Plymouth Avenue is wide, bright and spacious looking. Big elm trees shade parts of the street. On a warm summer day it's a nice place to walk.

But as you walk down the avenue, the remains of buildings burned during last summer's violence stand out. Where there used to be windows, there is now plywood.

Off Plymouth on the side streets are the homes.

In one block on Irving Av. N., there is a neat, freshly painted frame house. The lawn has been raked and a small flower garden surrounds the house. The house looks as though it would fit in along the shores of Lake Nokomis.

Across the street and a few houses down, a dilapidated duplex stands, the windows broken, the lawn cluttered with cans and bottles, the chimney crumbling and the shingles torn loose.

#### OUR IMAGES OF POVERTY

These contrasts—shade trees and boarded windows, neat lawns and crumbling chimneys—form the image of poverty areas in Minneapolis.

A visitor was touring the city's poverty areas several months ago. He said hardly a word as the car moved down the streets, past houses and small stores.

Finally, after a couple of hours, he remarked, "You know, my first impression was that Minneapolis doesn't really have any serious problems with blight and decay."

"I mean, you don't see the endless rows of tenements, with people stacked on top of another, that are so common in Chicago or Philadelphia or Boston."

#### OPEN YOUR EYES

"But," he continued, "when you really look—I mean, really open your eyes and look—you see the unmistakable signs of trouble."

"You see the 'For Sale' signs on lawns in the neighborhood around the Near North Side, you notice that the most common store front along Plymouth Av. is plywood and you remember that you must have counted at least a dozen boarded-up houses in the Phillips Neighborhood."

Only a few of the problems of poverty in the city are noticeable from a car window. Statistics tell more.

For instance, the Minneapolis City Council's Commission on Human Development studied census figures and welfare agency reports.

"We have found a city," the commission said, "that has been losing its population since 1950—a city that can no longer maintain its younger and more prosperous families.

#### FLEEING THE CITY

"The extent of the flight from the city becomes apparent when we observe the significance of our population figures—those over the age of 65 are increasing, the number of people earning under \$5,000 a year is increasing, the minority population is on the rise and the number of above-average income families is on the decline.

"In short, our city is following the same pattern as other cities. The higher income groups are leaving and the poor remain."

#### POVERTY FACTS

Here are some of the facts about poverty the commission examined:

Of Minneapolis residents, 2.4 per cent were Negro and .8 per cent were other non-whites, mostly American Indians, according to the 1960 federal census. More recent estimates have put the Negro percentage at about 3.5 per cent.

Of the total number of families living in Minneapolis, 16,861 or 13.9 per cent had incomes of less than \$3,000 per year.

While the median male income in the Twin City area, according to 1960 census data, was \$6,500 a year, the median Negro income was only \$3,301.

Among Indian families in the city, the average income is less than one-half that of the average white family.

#### THE PERCENTAGES

Nine out of 10 Negroes in Minneapolis live in just one-tenth of the city's area.

Almost 50 per cent of the city's nonwhite families live in substandard housing, and if it weren't for public housing the figure would be higher.

While the white unemployment rate in the Twin Cities is less than three per cent, the unemployment rate for Negro youths, between ages 16 and 21, ranges upward of 35 per cent in Minneapolis.

These problems are most severe among residents of three areas in the city—the Near North Side, the Central-Phillips Neighborhood and the South-Central area.

#### NEAR NORTH SIDE

The Near North area, which includes Plymouth Av., has general boundaries of the Mississippi River on the east, Penn Av. N. on the west, Olson Hwy. on the south and Golden Valley Road and 26th Av. N. on the north. It is one of the two areas in the city where the Negro population is concentrated.

Figures from the last census show that the median income for Near North Side families was below \$5,000, compared with about \$6,500 in the city.

A survey of housing showed that one out of every three housing units needed major repairs to make them safe and sanitary places in which to live.

More than half of all North Side housing units, including apartments and houses, are being rented. The percentage of home ownership in the area is the lowest in the city.

In census tract 34 on the North Side, just north of Olson Hwy., the median income for families is just below \$3,500. In one of the city's more prosperous census tracts, the median family income is three times that amount.

#### CENTRAL-PHILLIPS

The Central-Phillips neighborhood, another of the city's poverty areas, is bounded by the downtown loop on the north, Lake St. on the south, Cedar and Hiawatha Aves. on the east and Nicollet Av. on the west.

Many parts of the neighborhood look cramped and cluttered. Houses along some of the blocks are so close together it looks as though they had been forced into the lots with a shoe horn. There's very little side yard or back yard space.

Several blocks along the north-south avenues in the neighborhood illustrate what the planners call "mixed land use."

On Bloomington Av., in the heart of the area, an abandoned filling station sits on a corner with its gas pumps rusting. Bottles, cans and other debris spill over onto the lots on either side.

#### THE ABANDONED CARS

Some of the streets in the neighborhood are narrow. Abandoned cars, many without tires or wheels, sit along the curbs, leaving no room for two-way traffic.

The social and physical problems in the Central-Phillips neighborhood are just as severe as those on the North Side.

Of the eight census tracts in the area, there is none where families have a median income that comes within \$1,000 of the city-wide figures.

More than one-quarter of the housing units are classified as unsound and needing major repairs.

Of all residents in the neighborhood over the age of 25, only 35 percent have completed high school. In Minneapolis as a whole, about half the residents have completed high school.

In census tract 60 near the loop, one out of every six youngsters of school age has been in trouble with the police in the past year.

#### SOUTH-CENTRAL

The city's second concentration of Negroes is in the South-Central area, bounded by Lake St. on the north, E. 42nd St. on the south, Chicago Av. on the east and Nicollet Av. on the west. In many ways, the area resembles the better, more well-to-do neighborhoods of the city.

Most of the homes in the South-Central neighborhood are one-and-a-half or two-story single family dwellings. There is more side yard and back yard space on each lot than in either the Phillips or Near North areas.

The neighborhood generally shows signs of good housekeeping. Yards are neat, houses are painted and the alleys are clear of trash and litter.

The South-Central neighborhood gives the impression of being more open and spacious than the other areas. There are pine trees and shrubs in front of many homes.

#### THE "FOR SALE" SIGNS

The makeup of the population has been and is changing. Census figures for the past two decades show that younger, white families have been moving out of the neighborhood and Negro families moving in.

About one of every two blocks has at least one "For Sale" sign on the front lawn in front of a home. The Star checked 10 homes up for sale and found that eight of the 10 were owned by whites.

One mother—slight, blonde, about 30 years old—said: "We just felt like we ought to move. The makeup of the neighborhood is changing so fast. I'm worried about what will happen to the school."

#### I JUST HOPE

Two out of five census tracts in the South-Central area have concentrations of Negroes. Six out of every 10 residents of census tract 100, just south of Lake St., are Negroes.

"I just hope," said one South Side social worker, "that this area doesn't become a middle-class ghetto for Negroes."

#### THE MIRACLE

### HON. TOM BEVILL

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. BEVILL. Mr. Speaker, Miss Helen Keller, of Tuscumbia, Ala., who overcame

blindness and deafness to become one of the world's great women, died at her home last Saturday.

Miss Keller is dead. But the miracle that she lived during her 88 years of life will not die, but will live on as proof that adversity can be conquered, the most severe handicap overcome.

In recognizing Miss Keller's triumph over adversity, I insert in the Extensions of Remarks of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial which tells of Miss Keller's achievements and offers hope for those who strive for the excellence Miss Keller so courageously attained:

#### THE MIRACLE

Helen Keller is dead. But the miracle that was fashioned from her 88 years of life must never be allowed to die. As long as it is remembered, no adversity can be unconquerable, no burden too great to bear.

It should be recognized, too, that Helen Keller's great mind could have remained locked forever in the prison of her stricken body, condemned to rage in impotent and hopeless fury against the walls of blindness and of deafness that isolated her. Helen Keller might have lived her life as a frightened, infuriated, wounded animal had it not been for her teacher, the late Annie Sullivan Macy.

Young Annie Sullivan, whose own eyesight had just been restored by an operation, was hired by Helen's parents to train their unteachable child. It was Miss Sullivan's firmness, tenderness, patience and faith that provided the key of communication. That key released one of the most eloquent, productive and creative intellects of our age.

Few, if any, will ever fully share Helen Keller's intellect, or her affliction. But many partake of both. Wherever men are barred by circumstance from a full realization of their potential—wherever a constructive mind turns in frustration to rage and to destruction—the miracle that was wrought by Helen Keller and by her teacher waits to be reworked.

#### HOW TEAMWORK MEANT SUCCESS

### HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I know that many communities are faced with shoplifting as a serious matter involving juveniles from the community. Some of you will recall an article in an issue of the Saturday Evening Post of a few weeks ago. In that article, David O. Webb, general manager of Robeson's department store of Champaign, Ill., was mentioned as chairman of a committee which organized a campaign to keep down shoplifting. This effort by Mr. Webb was assisted by many other businesses in the community. It was, in effect, largely an educational campaign by business with representatives from county and local schools. The police department in Champaign, Ill., cooperated in every area and it was an outstanding success. I attach herewith an editorial from the Champaign-Urbana News-Gazette of Friday, May 10, 1968, entitled "How Teamwork Meant Success." This will give my colleagues some idea of what an effort it takes to bring out such an accomplishment. Everybody in the Champaign-Urbana community is satisfied with the results and that is all that counts in the end.

## HOW TEAMWORK MEANT SUCCESS

Champaign-Urbana's campaign against shoplifting is proof that divergent business in separate communities, working together with other leaders, can successfully develop and carry out a project which, ultimately, can attract nationwide attention. An article in the current issue of the Saturday Evening Post has provided the evidence.

"How did you do it?" requests received by David O. Webb, general manager of Robeson's who was chairman of the committee which organized and conducted the campaign, have come from the four corners of the United States.

The project was a team effort by leaders in the Champaign-Urbana community. As general chairman, Webb asked three representatives of the Champaign Chamber of Commerce, three from the Urbana Association of Commerce and one each from the K-Mart Plaza and Country Fair Shopping Center to sit in on the original planning session.

The business leaders agreed the best way to accomplish their goal was through an educational campaign and asked representatives of county and local schools to participate. The group was further expanded to include juvenile officers and several more businessmen.

Was the campaign a success?

The answer was given by Lt. Delmar Dawkins of the Champaign Police Department's juvenile division. The Post quoted Dawkins: "It's hard to believe what's happened. Before the campaign, in an average week, we could always count on seven to ten cases. Now it's down to only two or three cases a week—and it's holding there."

Who were the men who planned and made the campaign the success it was? From the schools, Ernest Harshbarger, County Superintendent of Schools; Dr. Robert Cooley, Assistant Superintendent of Unit 4 Schools; Ralph Davis, Principal, Urbana High School, and Roger Marcum, Principal, Urbana Junior High School.

Juvenile authorities, H. Russell Burke, Champaign County Probation Officer, and Lt. Dawkins, Champaign Police Department. And these representatives of Champaign-Urbana stores: Webb; Don Marx, J. C. Penney Co.; Bernie Dunn, Rogards; Walter Buchanan, K-Mart Plaza; Mrs. Roena Wright, Country Fair Spudnut Shop; Harold Dooley and Oliver Cromwell, Carson Pirie Scott & Co.; W. H. Thompson and Robert Ras, Montgomery Ward & Co.; B. B. Wiese, Jos. Kuhn & Co.; John Dempster, Goldblatt's; and James Withers, Urbana Association of Commerce, and Clara Hodges, who, on her own time, coordinated the activities of the committee.

We salute these men and women for the success of their campaign.

## WJW, CLEVELAND COMMENTS ON STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS

## HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, in a recent address Cartha D. DeLoach, Assistant to the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, stated:

Any creed or action which promotes disrespect for law and encourages disobedience to constituted authority produces law-breakers.

Ripples caused by civil disobedience widen, encouraging criminal activity at

all levels. Permissiveness breeds the most hideous and tragic consequences.

WJW-TV and radio, in Cleveland, Ohio, has taken a candid editorial look at student defiance of academic authority. Although the editorial deals specifically with Ohio University, the views expressed are applicable to student demonstrations elsewhere and to others who trespass on the rights of their fellow citizens.

Frank W. Lecjaks, editorial director of WJW, is to be complimented on his continuing service to our Cleveland community.

The editorial follows:

## STUDENTS WHO DON'T LIKE THE RULES SHOULD GET OUT NOW

Student demonstrations have reached a new low or high depending upon one's point of view. In our opinion, those estimated 1,000 Ohio University students who demonstrated in Athens Sunday night did so for the most ridiculous reason to come to our attention.

They were angered because they couldn't go home two weeks before the school year normally ends. Last week, university officials said that classes would be dismissed earlier if non-academic employees should go ahead with their threatened strike. On Saturday, the workers decided not to strike.

This apparently prompted about 1,000 students who had little or no connection with the non-academic employees to flex their muscles. They demonstrated, tossed rocks and destroyed property.

Our first impulse was to ignore these demonstrators who represent only about six percent of the 18,000 Ohio University students. But this was not an isolated incident. Throughout our nation, student groups are rioting and demonstrating often for flimsy reasons.

Though these groups are in the minority, they must be taken seriously because they exemplify the decay that is apparently gripping our country.

We think it's high time for our universities to weed out those rowdies. Any student who doesn't like the rules at his university should get out now. Students who revolt against what they call the "establishment" should remember that this same establishment must pay taxes to support higher education—their education.

And that includes their parents who also must pay tuition fees often at a personal sacrifice. Perhaps some, probably not many, parents don't care what their children do while in college.

We do, because we are tired of waste . . . the kind of waste portrayed by the student demonstrator both in tax dollars and human resources.

## THE FOOD STAMP PROGRAM

## HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, I join today with several colleagues in introducing legislation to expand and improve our food stamp program. This legislation will remove the authorization ceiling on the program to allow increased participation by additional countries which want food stamp programs but who will not, under present authorization ceilings, be funded next year.

The Department of Agriculture needs encouragement and support in its efforts

to improve the food programs it runs for America's hungry. With the increased attention which study groups and television programs have brought to the malnourished in this country, it is now our turn in Congress to act with dispatch and compassion to aid those who lack the most basic of life's necessities.

No one goes hungry voluntarily. And when the richest country in the world tolerates hunger—for whatever cause—it fails in a most fundamental human obligation.

I hope that the Agriculture Department gets, with the passage of this legislation, some of the additional support it says it wants to improve the food stamp program. With many millions of Americans, I will be watching the Department's performance closely for the devotion and the energy which it says it possesses, and which it must have, to carry out this commitment.

## WMAL RADIO EDITORIAL CITES OVERLOOKED PLIGHT OF CRIME'S VICTIMS

## HON. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, in the light of recent grave events, chief of which was the cold-blooded slaying of Senator KENNEDY, our people are asking one another, "What is happening to our country?" They are appropriately angered at the growing lawlessness. The days of the "Wild West" era in our history are dwarfed by this decade's crime in the streets.

In addition to the Los Angeles tragedy our newspapers in recent days have headlined the almost periodic shooting of policemen in Chicago, the slaying of two marines in a local restaurant and the brutal attack on a local physician while he was on an errand of mercy.

In a radio editorial a few days ago radio station WMAL touched the nub of the situation when it insisted that greater consideration be given the plight of the victim instead of sympathy for the criminal.

That editorial follows:

EDITORIAL COMMENT BY RADIO STATION WMAL, JUNE 3, 1968

At a age when most men are long retired, Dr. Henry Hadley was making house calls in the toughest areas of Washington. He was not afraid. He had walked these streets for fifty years since graduating with honors from George Washington University. He treated generations of people and believed everyone knew and respected him.

Dr. Hadley was on an early morning house call last week when a dozen street-gang toughs surrounded the 74-year-old physician. They ripped the wallet from his pocket, choked him with his tie, beat and kicked him in the face and left him for dead.

Later the doctor reflected from his hospital bed that he had probably delivered most of those boys. He fathered two sons himself, both of whom became noted doctors. He founded a hospital here named in his honor. Dr. Hadley spent most of his life preserving

the lives of others. To a dozen young hoods he was only an old man to beat and rob.

Let this community be righteously angry. Let us insist that lawmakers and judges see the side of crime's victim rather than the criminal's. Whatever the cost, let us insist that order be restored to our streets.

## NATIONAL SECURITY

### HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the VFW magazine for June 1968 carries an interesting article entitled "National Security," written by Brig. Gen. J. B. Hittle, U.S. Marine Corps, retired.

General Hittle invites the attention of his readers to the fact that Vietnam is not the only crisis that the United States faces. He points out the dangers of Russian support of Nasser in Egypt and cites the example of Russian military men deeply entrenched throughout the Egyptian Armed Forces. He draws a parallel between the Soviet support of the North Vietnamese and their war of aggression in Southeast Asia and the material support that they are now giving to Egypt. This, added to the growing influence of the Russian Navy in the Mediterranean, illustrates how deliberately and boldly the Kremlin is making its move against the United States and her allies in two important strategic areas of the world.

Mr. President, I invite the attention of Senators to this thoughtful article and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### NATIONAL SECURITY

(By Brig. Gen. J. D. Hittle, U.S. Marine Corps, retired)

Vietnam isn't the only crisis we're faced with.

There's a major crisis in the Mediterranean. It could blow up into a shooting war.

Nasser of Egypt is talking tougher and his war threats are more pointed.

There should be no question as to why he feels he can act more warlike. The huge military equipment losses Egypt suffered in the desert war with Israel just about a year ago have been replaced.

And no one should need three guesses as to where the tanks, guns, jets and missiles came from.

They came from Russia. Ever since Nasser's army was blitzed, Moscow has been pouring military supplies into Egypt.

As things are shaping up in the troubled Mid-East, it looks like Nasser has a virtually unlimited source of military equipment in Russia.

So, once again the Kremlin is the trouble-maker. And it is making a big investment in stirring up the trouble.

But this expensive mischief-making has a fundamental and long-range purpose.

Russia is using Egypt as a front for Communist penetration of the Mediterranean world. Once again, it's an example of how Russia provides the plan and the material means for someone else to do the job.

What the Kremlin is doing in the case of Egypt is, in some very basic ways, similar to how the Soviet Union is backing the North

Vietnamese in their war of aggression in Southeast Asia.

Without the material support of Moscow, the Red aggression against South Vietnam would soon fade. Without that same source of support, Nasser wouldn't be rattling his rockets and talking as if war is inevitable in the Mid-East.

But it would be sheer nonsense to conclude that Nasser is a free agent in making policy. To the contrary, there is good reason for contending that Egypt is little more than a satellite of Russia.

In rearming Egypt after the desert defeat, part of the deal was for increased Russian military advisory and training personnel for Nasser's armed forces.

The result is that Russian military men are deeply entrenched throughout the Egyptian armed forces.

And, of course, this means strong Soviet influence, perhaps even a form of control.

But the visible spearhead of Russia's power-grab in the Mediterranean is the Soviet fleet. It's modern and it's growing.

It includes missile cruisers and submarines. In addition, it now has amphibious units. These will soon have added power when the Kremlin moves one of its new helicopter aircraft carriers from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean. With such ships carrying helicopters and about 1,000 amphibious troops, Russia has the means of swiftly intervening in Moscow-caused trouble-spots on the rim of the Mediterranean.

All of which illustrates how deliberately and boldly the Kremlin is making its grab for control of the oil-rich Middle East and the strategic Mediterranean waters.

## TO PRESERVE AND DEFEND: THE INDIVIDUAL'S DUTY

### HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, for obvious reasons in our organized society the basic duty of the State should be to provide protection for the life and property of the individual citizen.

When the State fails or refuses to protect life and property—and, by omission, may in fact encourage crime and lawlessness by tolerance of the criminal—does the individual have any duty to defend himself, his loved ones and his property?

The answer is clearly in the affirmative. All States and civilized systems of society recognize the right of the individual to bear arms in self-defense allowing varied ranges of the use of force to resist force.

The history of our country is replete with instances of vigilantes and citizen groups joining for mutual defense where there was no law or where the law had been corrupted by selfish interests.

We should never forget that those in places of trust who refuse society its rightful protection—those who bend to promise or cooperate with blackmail and intimidation by acts of omission may well become parties to the crime themselves.

How bad is the crime situation? I include a report of citizens arming and a clipping on a district judge's comments from the Washington Evening Star for June 4 and an interview of Maj. Gen. Thomas S. Lane, retired, on the Manion Forum, following:

## CITIZEN MILITIA PROPOSED AS BACKUP FOR POLICE

(By Anne Christmas)

Noting that many citizens in Montgomery County now are carrying sidearms to and from social functions for protection, a member of the Maryland General Assembly has suggested that the county organize a citizens' militia to back up police during emergencies.

Del. Edward J. Clarke, R-Montgomery, told the county's Criminal Justice Commission yesterday that "if we start letting people organize vigilante groups, this county is in for big trouble."

Clarke said he had attended several gatherings during the past week where other guests displayed guns or, in one case, an Army-issue knife, which they said they began carrying during the April riots.

"Several said they kept guns in the glove compartments of their cars, and some women showed containers of tear gas or Mace which they had in their evening purses," Clarke said.

"It is common knowledge that many people are arming themselves for what they think is their own protection," he continued. "It goes without saying that this is a dangerous situation that could lead to disaster and even the death of innocent people."

"This clearly indicates that many are scared and frustrated. I have given a great deal of thought as to how to relieve some of this frustration and harness their energies in the right direction."

#### TRAINED FOR ASSIGNMENTS

He suggested a police reserve force of citizens who "could be trained for back-up assignments and not be brought into disturbances unless it became absolutely necessary for them to assist in the restoration of law and order."

According to Clarke's proposal, reservists would have no more power of arrest while off duty than a citizen has in making a routine citizen's arrest. They would undergo training by the police department and would be required to pass a physical as well as a psychological aptitude test.

"It is highly important to take a psychological test, because the police would have to be certain that the reservists would maintain balance and calm in an emergency," he explained. "They could be used not only in riots, but also in bad traffic situations, airplane crashes or any other unusual occurrences."

Clarke said he has made a study of similar programs in other cities and has found only a few places where an auxiliary has worked successfully.

Police Supt. James S. McAuliffe said that locally, Arlington County is the only jurisdiction which has an auxiliary police force, armed only with Mace and nightsticks, and assigned to work 15 hours a month.

The 14th Precinct in Northeast Washington also has been extremely active in working with citizens, and the program there has been highly successful, McAuliffe said.

Clarke, who described himself as a hunter "when I have time," said a gunsmith told him recently that "he can't find enough handguns to answer the present demand."

"Everywhere you go, people are talking about arming themselves," he continued. "Montgomery County has a good buffer zone with the 8th Precinct in Washington, but there is an avenue of hostility leading into Silver Spring—Georgia Avenue, which was close to the April disturbances."

#### SUGGESTS LIMITED SCALE

Chairman William W. Greenhalgh, who also is president of the Montgomery County Council, suggested that "we should look into this on a limited scale, particularly at the training, to see how much is involved in

stepping into the shoes of a regular police officer."

Greenhalgh proposed a small group of about 20 in the initial experiment and said "the cost certainly would not be exorbitant initially, to find out what we would require."

Clarke recommended getting in touch with the Bethesda Chamber of Commerce and similar civic groups for early work on the project.

McAuliffe wound up with a warning: "We would have to figure exactly what we would want them to do, and how they would be used, or they would not stay interested in such work very long."

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, June 4, 1968]

#### JUDGE IN RIOT CASES CRITICIZES DISTRICT (By Donald Hirzel)

A judge criticized District officials yesterday for what he termed their failure in the early stages of the April riot to order police to make arrests and enforce the law.

Judge Alfred Burka made the comment in the Court of General Sessions at the conclusion of the first group sentencing of persons arrested in connection with the riot. Burka has scheduled group sentencings for various dates this month.

Some defendants have been sentenced on riot-connected charges by other judges, but this was a group sentencing.

"I have questioned several police officers," Burka said, "and there is no doubt in my mind they operated with implicit or implied orders not to make arrests."

He added that there appeared to be no effort to instill in the public mind the idea that looters would be arrested and prosecuted, and he referred to the fact the seven persons sentenced by him yesterday said they had no fear of arrest when they went into the streets.

He also condemned those who took part in the rioting, declaring: "People we were depending upon to uphold law in the District were involved in the disorder and very few of them were caught."

#### PROBLEM FOR JUDGES

Burka said judges are greatly concerned about sentencing rioters because so many of the defendants have no previous police records and are family men with steady jobs.

"If we don't send them to jail, it is a sign to everyone with a clean record that he is entitled to one free ruling, but if I do . . ."

His words trailed off, and then he looked at the last man in the group he sentenced yesterday and said: "Here is a man with a wife and four children and another on the way who is working steadily to support his family . . ." Again his voice trailed off in the middle of the sentence.

He then sentenced the man, Nathaniel Dodds, 51, of the 1100 block of 10th Street NW, to a suspended 360-day jail term and placed him on probation for a year for attempted burglary II (looting).

Dodds is in a sense both typical and untypical of the rioter.

#### WATCHED THE PEOPLE

He told the court he is a dishwasher and makes \$58 a week. He came here from Mississippi 15 years ago after serving a six-month jail term there in 1935 for manslaughter.

He had no arrest record since being in Washington, until April 5, when he got off work and went home and sat on the porch drinking beer and watched the people milling about on the streets.

When he saw people carrying television sets and other items up the street, he asked where they got the goods and was told they came from a nearby store.

"I saw others taking things, and I thought of the things my kids needed," he told the court. So he joined the looters but was arrested before he got anything.

"Would you have gone if you had been warned that looters would be arrested or shot?" Burka asked.

"No, sir," Dodds replied. "People told me the police weren't arresting anybody and I thought it was all right since everybody else was doing it."

He said he saw "lots of police around, but nobody was being arrested."

#### DIDN'T EXPECT ARREST

The others sentenced yesterday also said they did not expect arrest. They also said they went into the streets because everybody else was looting.

The others sentenced had good-paying jobs, unlike Dodds, with one making \$4 an hour as a cement finisher. None of them graduated from high school.

Jessie J. Hinson, Jr., 23, of the 500 block of 7th Street SE, a truckdriver charged with attempted burglary II and petty larceny, received a suspended 360-day jail term and was placed on probation for two years.

He had one previous arrest for breaking and entering in Lancaster, S.C. in 1962 but no arrests since he came to Washington. He told the judge, "I got with the wrong crowd" during the rioting and was arrested. He is married and has two children.

A. D. Huff, 36, of the 2100 block of 4th Street NE, had no arrest record. He told Burka he completed the second grade before going to work on his father's farm. He has been in Washington eight years and works as a cement finisher.

He received 180 days for petty larceny and rioting, with the sentence suspended. He was placed on probation for one year.

John H. Walker, 22, of the 3400 block of 14th Street NW, charged with attempted burglary II and petty larceny after his arrest in a clothing store, received a suspended 180-day sentence and was fined \$100 and placed on probation for one year.

Walker, a machine operator with a fifth-grade education and a native of Washington, was bailed out after his arrest by his employer who then wrote a letter to the court in which he described Walker as "honest, trustworthy and a loyal employe."

The letter stated, according to Burka, that Walker on numerous occasions had been left alone in the plant with large sums of money and never took one cent. His boss wanted him back on the job.

Walker said that when he entered the clothing store there were policemen two doors away, but "I didn't think about police. It never occurred to me that I would be arrested."

"How do you feel about what you did now?" Burka asked. Walker replied: "Bad."

Charles E. Dean, 19, and Dempsey H. Bowie, 23, came to Washington from Alabama about four and a half to five years ago and live in the 500 block of 3rd Street NW. Both are employed as cement workers earning \$3.17 an hour and neither had an arrest record.

Dean completed the ninth grade and Bowie the seventh grade. They said they "saw a bunch of other people walk out of the store" and then they were arrested.

Both were charged with attempted burglary II and received suspended 360-day terms and were fined \$100 each.

#### ONLY ONE GETS JAIL

Only one man received a straight jail term. He was James McDonald Carroll, 31, of the first block of Bryant Street NW. He was charged with carrying a pistol without a permit.

He received 360 days in jail after Burka reviewed his conviction record, including charges of petty larceny, assault and carrying a dangerous weapon.

A lifelong resident of Washington, Carroll is a laborer with a sixth-grade education.

He claimed he had just bought a .22-caliber pistol from a youth on the street when he was arrested. Police said they recovered

the gun and 26 rounds of ammunition. Carroll said he planned to take the gun home.

The last of the eight to appear before Burka was Sylvester Burrows, 47, of the 1200 block of 5th Street NW, who was charged with attempted burglary and rioting.

He previously entered a guilty plea to the charges, but when he came before Burka yesterday he said it was all an "accident."

Burrows claimed that on April 5 he was standing near a liquor store when a crowd surged by him and the next thing he knew he was in the store, where he was arrested. The judge set aside the guilty plea and set a trial for July 2.

[From the Manion Forum, May 19, 1968]

#### PROTECTION OF PERSON AND PROPERTY: WHEN GOVERNMENT RENEGES—RESPONSIBILITY REVERTS TO THE INDIVIDUAL

(By Maj. Gen. Thomas A. Lane, U.S. Army, retired, president of Americans for Constitutional Action)

DEAN MANION. Every day our news is headlined with another spectacular defeat for law and order. On the campus and in the streets mob rule by riot is the new disorder of the day. Whenever a noisy crowd gathers now you may be sure that additional terms of surrender will soon be announced by those in charge of protecting property and keeping the peace. This prevailing policy of rewarding lawless violence is eating the heart out of our civilization and the election next November may be our last chance to choose public officials who are pledged to end it.

With me here at the microphone now is retired Major General Thomas A. Lane (USA). He is now President of the respected Congressional vote-rating organization known as Americans For Constitutional Action. General Lane is well and widely known as an author, lecturer and syndicated columnist. He has some definite ideas about the present peril of our public order and I am anxious for you to hear some of them. General Lane, welcome to the Manion Forum.

GENERAL LANE. Thank you, Dean Manion. In our society, the authority of government to preserve public order is a partial grant of the citizens' right to protect himself and his property, and it is conditioned upon the fulfillment of the duty by government.

When government defaults on its responsibilities, as some political leaders have done by tolerating looting, the responsibility for protecting his property reverts to the individual. The individual must take up arms in self-defense. Those politicians who allege that they have saved lives by tolerating vandalism are retreating from civilization. They may extenuate widespread property destruction but civilization cannot do so and survive.

During the April burning of Washington, some store-owners disregarded the police admonition to lock up and leave their places of business during curfew hours. They took post with their employees in defense of their property. They were armed. They were successful. Though a few incurred minor damage, the owners who defended their property were generally unmolested.

If the alliance of public officials with the black revolutionaries renders our police protection ineffectual, the property owner is not without recourse. In a community where the first man to throw a Molotov cocktail through a store window received a blast of buckshot in the belly, arson would become a very unpopular activity.

In one Washington suburb the Chief of Police advised all property owners to take arms in defense of their own property and to call on him for assistance when needed. He stated frankly that his force was too small to protect the community from planned insurrection. There was no insurrection.

One Congressman said that the recent looting and arson were the work of a small

handful of men. He did not say why our police failed to cope with this handful of men. The answer lies in the politics of his party. Why did Washington authorities arrest six thousand individuals but not Stokely Carmichael? Why did they allow Carmichael and his hoods to start the vandalism and then arrest citizens who joined in the looting which police had condoned?

The President in Washington and Liberal politicians across the land had been intimidated by black power. They had accepted the false thesis that the police should "contain" a riot by allowing looting and avoiding the conflict which law enforcement might precipitate.

This toleration of vandalism is the cause of the riots. It enables the revolutionaries to launch the community on a looting spree. It provides cover for their work of arson and sniping.

Any police force worth its salt knows who the incendiaries are. It could apprehend them at the beginning of their activities and prevent the riots. But today these black criminals are protected by politicians who fear that resolute action against the leaders would alienate the entire Negro vote.

Some years ago, an American officer serving in a foreign country where rioting was threatened met the leader of the revolutionary faction at a cocktail party. He said to the local hero: "I have given your picture to my men and told them that if they shoot, they must first shoot you." There was no riot.

The target cities of these attacks are those in which Liberal officials at local and state level feel dependent on the Negro vote for election. In California, where Governor Reagan has set a no-nonsense policy of enforcing the law against all violators, only minor disturbances occurred. He has set a standard of responsible administration to which the whole country should subscribe.

#### GOVERNOR'S CHICKENS COME HOME TO ROOST

After the burning of Baltimore, Governor Spiro T. Agnew called moderate Negro leaders to a special meeting. He berated them for not opposing the militant revolutionaries who had incited the riots and burned the city. His was the righteous anger of the man who has worked hard for civil rights and has been betrayed. But the black moderates resented and rejected the Governor's lecture. Rightly so.

The Governor seemed unaware that his own policies had caused the burning of Baltimore. In his zeal for civil rights, he had helped to spread the familiar lies about a "century of discrimination" which the black revolutionaries had authored to build a persecution complex in the minds of urban Negroes. He had helped to build the psychosis which would in time be used to justify looting and arson. Of course, he promised to right these imagined wrongs and he hoped thereby to win the gratitude of the Negro voters.

If the Governor had rejected this specious rationalization of Negro poverty, if he had said that in this country every man gets what he earns and no more, if he had backed the so-called Uncle Toms who stood for Negro responsibility, if he had learned the lessons of Newark and Detroit instead of hailing the studied deception of the President's Riot Commission, Baltimore might have been spared this ordeal.

Only the forked tongues of civil rights leaders can preach non-violence while they implant in the minds of our Negro citizens a sense of injury which begets violence. Unhappily, they have had the endorsement of public officials, vocal sectors of the clergy and aspiring politicians in spreading the lie about Negro deprivations in America.

The Johnson consensus has embraced and is spreading a false history of the Negro in America which is demoralizing in its effect. Negro Americans are not the downtrodden

victims of discrimination and oppression. They are without question the most advanced representatives of Negro education and Negro skills in the world today. Their wealth and literacy compare favorably with those of the white and yellow nations of the world. The Negro American has cause to be proud of the progress he has made in this country.

The United States is the only country where white men fought a bloody war to free the Negro slaves. Since emancipation, literally millions of white citizens have sustained educational and medical institutions to open opportunity to our Negro citizens. Responsible Negro leaders have emerged in the professions and in business to further the welfare of their people. Until the past decade, racial harmony, not strife, has been the rule.

No man, black or white, gains strength of mind and character by living on unearned handouts. The Negro American, who in an earlier era had held his own in the quest for wealth through work, has in some instances abandoned the quest to live on the Federal dole. Others, embittered by Old World theories of class warfare, have turned against America and become the tools of the Communist class warfare.

The great mass of our Negroes are working and prospering with America. They count their blessings as Americans. They seek peace and order in which to raise their families and enjoy the fruits of their labors. But they are harassed by agitators and by the psychological brainwashing projected by U.S. news media.

The position of some officials that traditional protection of property would provoke racial warfare is an insult to our black citizens. It implies that a substantial sector of the black community is committed to vandalism and arson when all evidence shows a small handful of revolutionaries to be responsible.

Large numbers of local citizens have been arrested for looting in the riot-torn areas, but this consequence flowed from police toleration of the looting. When public officials declare that merchandise in designated stores may be taken without fear of arrest, it becomes difficult for the citizen to judge how far he can go before the police crack down.

Some are arrested for what others are permitted to do. But these are not citizens who would defy police to break the law. They are drawn into the lawlessness by police permissiveness and by mob psychology. Only a handful of citizens are waging insurrection. The tragic reality which we face is the submission of public authorities to these criminals.

#### RABBLE-ROUSERS USING THE POOR

White politicians, unworthy stewards of the public trust, have embraced the Marxist distortion of history advanced by revolutionaries within their own ranks. They have rent our domestic tranquility. Now the poor are being dragooned into a march on Washington. Most of our poor are too smart to become pawns of the rabble-rousers, but there will be some who come for pay or for excitement. The byways are being scoured for them.

The avowed purpose of the march is to intimidate Congress. Leaders say the poor will camp in Washington until demands for new legislation and new appropriations are met. President Johnson says no man can guarantee that such a mob scene will not erupt in violence. We know that. We also know that the President could avoid the prospect of violence by prohibiting the march. In fact, it is his clear duty to do so.

The purpose of having a Federal city is to assure the security of the seat of government. Here the Federal government exercises a police power which it does not have within the states. It is the specific responsibility of the District of Columbia Government, which President Johnson reorganized last year, to

protect the Federal government from mob violence.

The poor people's march is, on its face, not a lawful program. Its purpose of intimidation (not petition) is unlawful. Its proclaimed defiance of permit requirements challenges District law. Violence is implicit in its program.

Why does the President condone such an affront to the Congress? Is this another mob action to advance his legislative aims? Or is he too fearful of his own political adherents to restrain them?

In commenting upon his Committee investigation of riots, Senator John McClellan, of Arkansas, said: "I think there have been public utterances by government leaders that could be interpreted as encouraging—certainly not as discouraging—violence, rioting, law violation and what is called civil disobedience."

"The President of the United States, as I recall, once addressed a group on the White House lawn as 'fellow revolutionaries.' That certainly carried a connotation to dissident groups that he was very much in sympathy with methods used. Violence, of course, is associated with a revolution. At a joint session of Congress, the President used the motto of civil right activists, 'We shall overcome.'"

In discussing the poor people's march on Washington, Senator Robert C. Byrd, of West Virginia, who is well versed in District of Columbia affairs, suggested that our Republic may be on the road to its ultimate downfall. Asked to prescribe an antidote, Senator Byrd said: "I suggest that, first of all, our country needs strong, courageous leadership." This is indeed a telling commentary upon the Presidency by a leader of the majority party.

In these times of urban anarchy, there is a clear obligation upon the President to stand firmly for law and order, to condemn and oppose the revolutionary propaganda which is fanning the flames of class warfare in our cities. How strange that he should stand silent in a time of crisis!

You, my fellow citizens, must make your own judgment of these events. It is my judgment that we are facing a massive failure of our political leadership. The corruption of power has emasculated our public officials. We must draw into the public service vigorous and fearless men who will place the public good above every clamor of faction and who will restore in all citizens a new birth of patriotism. It is the responsibility of our honest citizens to place the election of such officials above every consideration of party.

To you, Dean Manion, I offer my sincere thanks for this opportunity to speak to your radio audience.

DEAN MANION. Thank you, General Lane. My friends, be sure that every candidate for every office is forced to take a stand on this controlling issue of mob rule. Don't let any of these office-seekers buy votes by promising to coddle criminals.

#### THE LONELY ONES

### HON. DOMINICK V. DANIELS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, this week I received a poem from a good constituent of mine, Mrs. Betty Block of 147 Highland Street, Jersey City, N.J.

If ever there was a more eloquent appeal to the Members of this House and the Senate as well, than that submitted by Mrs. Block, I cannot recall it. Rich,

abundant America has done so little to bring sunshine into the lives of our senior citizens. I hope all Members will read the few lines Mrs. Block has sent to me.

I urge all Members, Democrats and Republicans alike, to read and harken unto these poignant words.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I place Mrs. Block's poem at this point in the RECORD.

The poem follows:

THE LONELY ONES

I sit here, in my lonely room,  
Hoping that death, will come to me soon.  
Thinking of my youth, long gone bye-  
But no more tears come to my tired eyes.  
And at night, I go to bed.  
Where I can rest, my aching head.  
Once I had friends and a family,  
And my life was useful and full of gayety.  
But now that I am aged, and alone.  
No more can I, on this earth roam.  
So, wont someone, please knock at my door,  
And I promise, that I wont be a bore.  
And if someone, this will perchance to read,  
I hope it will help, to the plight of the aged,  
give heed.

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE BREAK-  
DOWN OF LAW AND ORDER

HON. WILLIAM M. TUCK

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Speaker, under leave heretofore granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an address delivered by Judge Samuel S. Leibowitz of the Supreme Court of New York before the Brooklyn Bar Association on May 23, 1968, and which was published on Monday and Tuesday of last week by the New York Law Journal.

Judge Leibowitz' experience as a lawyer and as a judge enables him to be knowledgeable on the subject of law enforcement. Prior to ascending the Bench of the Supreme Court of New York, he was one of the outstanding defense lawyers in the Nation. His record as a justice of the Supreme Court of New York establishes his reputation as one of the most highly respected judges in the country.

As everyone familiar with our system of government knows, the duty and responsibility for the enforcement of the law and the suppression of public mischief lies with the localities.

The principal difficulty is that Congress has passed so many laws at the behest of recent Chief Executives, including Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson, restricting the activity of law-abiding citizens and the police so that these officials at the local level are in many instances afraid to exert the force necessary to effect an arrest by reason of the fact that they may be indicted in some distant Federal court for violating somebody's so-called civil rights.

Another difficulty is in getting convictions of the lawless because of the rulings of the Warren court. Prior to the advent

of the Warren court, the States were free to establish their own rules of evidence and their own court procedures and the Federal Government established the procedures to be followed in the Federal courts.

In short, the Chief Executives, the Congress, and the Supreme Court have by their actions intimidated, hobbled, and impeded the police and the local law-enforcement officials. The Congress should repeal some of the laws which they have enacted and should pass other laws nullifying and negating many of these outrageous decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States. Unless this is done and the States and localities are left free to enforce the law, we will have more violence and more innocent people will be maimed, wounded, or murdered.

Racial unrest and hatreds are running rampant through the land, most of which was spawned and fostered by the ineptitude of a large group of misguided people who claim to be promoting racial peace when, in fact, they are sewing the seed of discord and strife.

In view of the breakdown of law and order which exists in this country today, particularly here in the National Capital, I hope that the Members of Congress and others will read the excellent address of Judge Leibowitz, which is as follows:

[From the New York Law Journal, May 27, 1968]

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE BREAKDOWN OF LAW AND ORDER—I

(By Samuel S. Leibowitz)

I am happy to be here at home with my brothers at the Bar. I have lived in the courtroom all of my adult life, and I have a warm affection for the members of our profession. Crime—yes, vicious crime—is so rampant that if something sensible and courageous is not done in a hurry, sheer chaos will engulf our people. All of us have been regaled on Law Day, May 1, by the proclamations intoned by the very topflight leaders of our country. However, it is high time to implement the Law Day speeches—these Law Day ceremonies where lawyers and judges, largely talking to each other in quasi-incestuous verbal intercourse, outdo each other politely praising our laws and our legal institutions, but only occasionally shedding some mild polite tears concerning the ineptitude and weakness in the law's enforcement.

The population of London is about the same as that of New York City. It, too, has its tensions between its ethnic groups, its poverty, its slums. Yet the London bobby does not even carry a weapon such as a gun or billy.

I sat with Sir Richard Jackson, the head of Scotland Yard. Sir Richard, with a rogulish twinkle, asked, "Judge, how many criminal homicides did you have during last year in your city?" Of course, I knew the answer. And although my face got red, I had to admit, "About 700."

"We here in London," Sir Richard commented, "average only between 35 and 40."

Why, I ask you, is there this difference in the homicide rate in these two English-speaking cities? Why do we have such a deluge of crime? Attorney General Ramsey Clark reports that in 1967 our population had increased 2 per cent while the crime rate skyrocketed 15 per cent. In New York City the rate zoomed 25 per cent.

Only a few years ago the gunning down of a shopkeeper was front-page news. Today, stick-ups, muggings, rapes, arson, even mur-

der, are so commonplace that they have practically lost their news value.

As evening falls in our sprawling city, grown men cower in their homes with their wives and children about them; our residential streets are nighttime challenges for only the bravest.

The evening after the assassination of Martin Luther King you looked at television depicting the riot in Harlem. You saw the rioters before your very eyes as they were burning, smashing store windows, and looting. You saw them brazenly lifting out television sets, carting away loads of groceries. One woman was pulling out a large stuffed chair from a ruined furniture store. These lawbreakers did not hurry. They did all their nefarious work calmly, and many of them chuckled as they went about their business. Standing by helplessly was a group of police officers, without lifting a finger. The word had been passed along to them to "cool it."

Ladies and gentleman, without respect for law and order, only anarchy must result and our democracy must die.

The president of Columbia University should have called for the police immediately and had those campus hoodlums evicted from the five buildings that they had seized. Instead he, too, "cooled it" for days on end and in the vain hope that the insurrection would subside.

Finally, after they had paralyzed this great university, he came to his senses and he ordered the police to eject these marauders. Not only did the police have to contend with these intellectual hoodlums holed up in the seized buildings, but also with the mob of their sympathizers outside.

Of course, there was a melee before the police could restore a semblance of order. Undoubtedly, a few of the policemen may have been a bit unnecessarily rough during the turmoil, a bloody nose here, a kick in the shins there. All of us are unalterably opposed to illegal violence, whether on the part of a civilian or on the part of a police officer, and those proven guilty of such conduct should be called to account. But all that we heard from the left-wing shouters and bleeding-hearts was "police brutality."

Nearby, in St. Luke's Hospital, on a bed of pain, with his body in traction, was Patrolman Frank Giocondi suffering from a severe back injury. The doctors reported that he may not be able to ever walk again if the major surgical operation they were planning was not successful.

On another bed lay Sergeant Bernard Swaise. He had been kicked in the chest by one of the darlings who gave the police such a devil of a time. The sergeant sustained an injury to his heart. For a time he hovered between life and death. Of course, no tears were shed for this police officer injured in the line of duty.

About 700 alleged disturbers were arrested and taken off to court. What is your calculated guess: Will one—yes, only one—ever see the inside of a jail? Frankly, I don't know, nor will I predict what the courts will do. At any rate, I hope that the courts do not lend a receptive ear to "cool it."

Will the insurrectionists who hoisted the flag of Ho Chi Minh from the windows of the barricaded buildings, who seized the dean and held him captive for a day, who tore the president's office to pieces—will these miscreants be expelled, as they should be? Or will they get off with just a warning: "Be a good boy and don't do it again."

The screaming headlines in the press tell today's sorry mess: "Rebels Invade Columbia Again. Kirk Calls Cops to Oust Them!"

And insurrection has spread to so many of the college campuses across the land that the new battle cry is: "Cool it, brother. To hell with the law!"

A few days ago in Brownsville another outrageous defiance of law and order occurred.

An organization of so-called community savants and their militant cohorts from other sections of the city brazenly barred thirteen teachers from entering the school to perform their duties. No formal charges were leveled against these teachers; no hearings were held. They were just given the "bum's rush," as they say in the vernacular, or the "lock-out." This, too, was a form of civil disobedience. In sum, "To hell with the law!"

Into this mess stepped the leader of the teachers' union, and in outraged tones he called for police intervention because he alleged that the law had been violated by this community group. He rightfully spoke about due process of law that had been denied these teachers.

However, my mind goes back only a few months. Wasn't he the same man who himself violated the law when he paralyzed the school system by calling a teacher strike? On this occasion, too, we had the spectacle of, mind you, an educator saying in effect, "To hell with the law which forbids this strike. We will do as we damn please, because we don't like the law." And wasn't he the very man who brazenly and contemptuously violated a lawful mandate of our Supreme Court that issued an injunction to call off this strike?

How in the name of common sense are you going to have law and order instead of anarchy if every individual proclaims himself a self-appointed oracle who, holding the law to be immoral, resorts to this sort of tactics?

Even if you are not a true conscientious objector, all you have to do is cry out that the Viet Nam war is immoral. Well, that settles it as far as you are concerned. When Uncle Sam sends for you to serve in the armed forces of your country, you simply spit in his face, tear up your draft card, and throw it into a bonfire together with the cards of your fellow slackers. You might even toss in the Stars and Stripes to add fuel to the fire. Go to prison if you must, and when you come out you will be welcomed back with open arms by the deans of famous seats of learning in the United States.

When it comes to the most vital bastion that is expected to hold back the flood of crime that is inundating us, it is the criminal courts upon which we must eventually rely, no matter how efficient the police and the prosecutors may be.

The New York Times, on its front page of this past Monday, headlined "Fear of Muggers Looms Large in Public Concern Over Crime." The Times investigation disclosed the following three broad conclusions:

(1) The average mugger strikes many times before he is arrested.

(2) Even when he is arrested and convicted, he will prowls the streets again in a relatively short time.

(3) The time he spent behind bars is unlikely to furnish him with any meaningful rehabilitative treatment.

The Times survey found that 80 per cent of the defendants had been arrested at least once before, and 40 per cent had been arrested five or more times. Many of these criminals nonetheless were let off with a plea of guilty to misdemeanors, the limit of sentence being one year.

The Times reports a typical case! A lady was walking along the street. Suddenly a thug grabbed her purse. She fought back. In the struggle the criminal slashed her arm and leg with his knife. She screamed. A patrolman chased and apprehended the mugger. He was charged with assault and robbery, which calls for a maximum sentence of fifteen years. This criminal had been arrested before, once for auto theft and once for possession of burglar tools.

What do you think happened to him when he faced the judge? He was permitted to plead guilty to assault in the third degree, a mere misdemeanor, and sentenced to six months in jail. With time for good behavior

this rascal didn't have to bother to take his shoes off when he got to Rikers Island Penitentiary for fear of missing the ferryboat back to Manhattan to again carry on his business of mugging.

I simply cannot understand the logic of some of the procedure on the day of sentencing in our criminal courts. There stands the lawyer for the defendant making his plea for leniency, and if perchance he feels that the sentence is excessive, he files his appeal for a reduction thereof. But there, too, stands the representative of the people, the District Attorney. He is as silent as a tomb. And even though the courthouse may have been given away to the sentenced defendant, he has no right to appeal. I would therefore recommend to the Legislature of our state to remedy this incongruity, so that at least the rights of the people are not denigrated in this fashion.

There is no doubt that our judges are above suspicion as to their integrity. With some rare exception it is not fair to saddle the blame on the shoulders of our judiciary. However, they, too, are now under pressure to "cool it," but for a different reason.

Our criminal courts are, in plain terms, "pressure-cookers." Unlike the civil case which, unfortunately, languishes for years before it sees the inside of the civil courtroom, the criminal merchandise must be cleared off the shelves pronto, because there is figuratively speaking, the truckman outside who daily is ready to dump larger and larger loads of criminal business on the doorstep of the courthouse. The defendant must under our constitution be accorded the right to a speedy trial or the case will go "out of the window," as they say in common parlance.

Thus, at all costs, the criminal calendar must be moved. The courts are under terrific pressure to dispose of cases by pleas. The criminal defendant knows the score. He knows full well that this is a "buyer's market." He can dictate to the District Attorney and the court what bargain price he will pay for his crime. "Either you give me the plea and the sentence I demand or I'll say, 'Trial! Trial!'" He knows even before he reaches the courtroom that he is in the driver's seat, that the District Attorney and the court simply must knuckle down to him, or else!

Consider the interminable court proceedings that are required to even approach a final conclusion of a criminal case. You will recall that it took eleven long years to bring the Chessman case to a finish.

No one points an accusing finger at the fairness of the British courts of justice. Yet if a murderer is convicted in England and he is sentenced to death, within only a few weeks thereafter his appeal is heard by the Criminal Court of Appeals sitting en banc. After oral arguments, the judges retire to deliberate. Arriving upon a conclusion, they return to the bench and either affirm or reverse the conviction. If affirmed, shortly thereafter the Home Office, which is the pardoning agency in England, determines whether the death penalty shall be commuted to life imprisonment or that the convict should be executed. The case is closed. Finis. Who has ever complained about the fairness of British justice? But not so in our country.

Our criminal trial courts are confronted with still another headache. In our city, judges sit in a certain numbered part of the court during one month and are then moved to another part of the court the following month. The defendant's case, however, remains in the one part, and he is fully aware of that system. Thus, if his case is scheduled before what he considers a "tough" judge, he employs every miserable stratagem in order to steer the case away from that judge and is hoping that the judge who follows is a "good guy" or "sweetheart."

It will open your eyes in wonderment as

to what is going on if you will only read the dissenting opinion of the United States Court of Appeals by Judge Leonard Moore, reported in United States ex rel. Davis v. The Warden (386 Fed. 2d 611).

If convicted, whether by plea or trial, this does not end the case by any means. If he should lose his appeals, he is now armed with the two other weapons that have swamped our trial and appellate courts, namely, coram nobis and habeas corpus. The convicted criminal cries out that "Everybody done me wrong. The judge coerced me into pleading guilty. The prosecutor reneged on his promise of a light sentence. My counsel was incompetent and sold me out. My constitutional rights were violated." These are but a few of the points he raises. There are others, so bizarre that they border on never-never land.

[From the New York Law Journal, May 28, 1968]

#### THE TRUTH ABOUT THE BREAKDOWN OF LAW AND ORDER—II

(By Samuel S. Leibowitz)

In every prison in our state there is a well-stocked law library. There the jailbirds are conning over the volumes, especially those dealing with petitions for coram nobis and habeas corpus. You would be amazed if you read some of these petitions, pages and pages of them, citing every decision of the state and federal courts, whether apposite or otherwise. In many cases the petitioner alleges a factual question, and the trial court is bound to grant him a hearing. He must then be transported hundreds of miles from the prison to the courtroom, accompanied by prison guards, at a considerable expense, of course, to the taxpayers. Lawyers are assigned. But if the petitioner loses, again appeal after appeal follows.

I had one convict before me thirteen times. On each occasion he set forth a new complaint. The other day when after a long hearing I denied his petition, as he was being escorted back to his cell he looked over his shoulder at me and said, "Hey, Judge, I'll have another one for you before the sun goes down." I have lost count of the number of his appeals that are now floating around the various appellate courts.

On May 17, the papers carried a large advertisement, which I am sure many of you read. The headline read "Save Our Courts, Protect Public Safety! The Public Is In Danger For Lack Of Enough Judges." I was interested in a quote by District Attorney Aaron A. Koota of Kings County. He wrote: "Because of the shortage of judges, we are compelled to have plea bargaining or copping of pleas in many criminal cases. This is an invitation for criminals to commit other crimes, knowing that the penalty will not be severe."

No one can gainsay this truth. We are in a death struggle with the enemy and we as judges must sacrifice our comfort if we are to spare innocent citizens from the depredations of the hordes of dangerous creatures that abound. The defendants must be taught that one shade off the indictment, except in rare instances, is all the bargain he can expect if he pleads guilty; that the court will never stoop to commit itself to the promise of a light sentence under any circumstances, in order to induce him to "cop a plea."

Today, May 23, 1968, here in Brooklyn, and also in the other counties of our city, how many misdemeanor pleas were taken on felony arrests? What were the circumstances? Today, May 23, 1968, how many slaps on the wrist were given dangerous criminals arrested for serious crimes? Today, May 23, 1968, how many judges, obsessed by the ever-mounting court calendars, made "dispositions"—giving away the courthouse just to get rid of the case.

Our newspapers, that devote daily accounts to box scores of ballgames and league

standings, and columns to sports reminiscences, and headlines to demagogues and to violence, must join the fight not simply by only reporting the sensational crime and the sensational arrest but by giving the public the day-by-day box scores on what happens to the criminal cases in our courts.

After all these years as defense counsel, for so many of the kings and princes of the empires of crime, I have taken to the Bench a "savvy" of the psychology of the average criminal.

Of course, you should extend compassion to the first offender who has committed a non-violent offense, but you just don't sacrifice the safety of the millions of decent, hard-working, law-abiding citizens by "cooling it" with the dangerous enemies of society. You don't feel flattered if, leaving the courtroom after sentence, the defendant or his lawyer chuckles, "Gee, that judge was a sweetheart."

I am proud to say that I have never been a "sweetheart" in all my years on this Bench. Certainly we are all aware that persons are rarely rehabilitated in the prisons. But until they can be, the prison walls prevent them, at least while they are there, from wreaking more havoc on the community.

The facts are that our state prisons are being emptied by the courts. Do you want the facts? Here they are right from the official record of the Department of Correction as of March 29, 1968. These are the male prisons: Attica, Auburn, Clinton, Green Haven, Sing Sing, and Wallkill.

These are the male reformatories: Elmira, Great Meadow, Catskill, Coxsackie and Woodbourne.

Then we have the Elmira Reception Center, the distributing center for those under twenty-one to the other adolescent institutions.

The hospitals for the criminal insane are Dannemora and Matteawan.

The female institutions are: Albion State Training School, Western Reformatory, Westfield State Farm Reformatory, and Westfield State Farm Prison.

There are a total of 21,103 cells which are occupied by only 14,402 prisoners. These institutions are two-thirds full.

You recall the musical "Finian's Rainbow." The hit song was "How are things in Glencora this fine day?" Well, the song up at Clinton Prison is "How are things in Dannemora this fine day?"

The poor warden must be worrying: "Gee, it looks pretty bad. We have 2,200 cells and only 1,373 customers to fill them. If business doesn't improve, we'll soon have to close up the joint and put a 'For sale' sign on the entrance."

Well, I'm thinking, here we are up in the Adirondacks. It is a wonderful climate for tuberculars. Perhaps the state will, with some renovations, turn Dannemora into a fine tuberculosis hospital.

Sing Sing! Ah, dear old Sing Sing? There are 1,800 rooms in this hotel, and only 1,510 tourists to fill them. Unless the travel agents—that is, the courts—start sending us some business, we may as well turn this beautiful hotel on the Hudson over to the hippies for a love pad.

Where are the thugs and other criminals that used to crowd these prison cells? They are out in the community running amuck.

Let me say a few words about the gambling racket. You will recall the notorious Harry Gross case which involved a grand jury investigation of alleged police corruption. Gross, alone, did a \$20,000,000-a-year bookie business here in Brooklyn. I presided over that grand jury investigation. I sent a number of the grafting cops to prison.

The other day an article in the New York Law Journal caught my eye. I refer to it because it demonstrates beyond peradventure that to "cool it" by our courts is a grievous mistake. It is tantamount to "civil disobedience" when a judge, just because he dis-

agrees with the wisdom of the law, refuses to enforce it.

The article points out that the felony gambling law was passed in 1960. It provides that one arrested with five or more betting slips or a total "handle" of more than \$5,000 can be sent to state prison for four years.

State Senator Hughes, chairman of the Anti-Crime Committee of the Legislature, gives us the statistics. In the fiscal year of 1965-66 the police gambling squad arrested 9,629 persons on felony gambling charges. Only thirty-two were indicted and only one went to prison.

The Governor, in approving of the bill, made this statement: "Illegal gambling is a serious cancer in our society; it is unquestionably a principal source of revenue for organized crime. The funds provided by such gambling are used to finance narcotic purchases in foreign lands and for a wide variety of other criminal activities. Revenues so obtained from misguided citizens not only provide the capital for organized rackets but they create a constant temptation for the corruption of police and other public officials."

I was curious to learn what this policing cost you, the taxpayers, for this shocking performance. Here are the figures I obtained from Deputy Police Commissioner Walsh only a few days ago. The following is the personnel of the gambling squad and their salaries:

639 plainclothesmen at yearly pay of \$9,000.

51 lieutenants at yearly pay of \$10,500.

21 deputy inspectors at yearly pay of \$14,000.

6 inspectors at yearly pay of \$15,000.

The total cost for one year for the gambling squad is \$6,580,500 in salaries alone, to send one professional gambler to jail! Almost unbelievable, but there you have the cold facts.

Perhaps some of this money could be diverted to raising the pitifully low salaries of the dedicated, able assistant prosecutors on Mr. Koota's staff. With some of this cash our district attorney would certainly attract more able trial lawyers to augment his staff of prosecutors, so that the business of the prosecutor's office could be handled with added talent and dispatch.

My calculated guess is that there may be but one bookmaker operating to over 1,000 tied up in the numbers racket—and the numbers racket yields untold millions of dollars to the underworld barons.

The numbers racket demands thousands of foot soldiers, troops that collect the dimes and the quarters from the suckers who bet on a number. The odds of winning are between 600 and 1,000 to 1.

Now, who are these troops, these agents, that collect the bets for the mob? They are the housewives in the ghettos, the small shopkeeper, the elevator operator, the porter—all harmless, otherwise law-abiding people but who, in fact, are the very backbone of this racket. Without these troops the numbers racket would die on the vine.

But these are the people who over the years have been collared by the police. The invariable practice in the courts was either to turn them loose or to impose some petty fine. Of course, the gang usually supplied the mouthpiece, and the gang paid the bail bondsman and put up the fine. I think that if the judges were to send but a few of these people to jail for but a few days, the word would spread around like wildfire and these troops would shun the petty sums that they get for their services from the mob. They would hardly take another chance and do it again.

I emphasize: the lords of the underworld could never operate without these troops. But the easy way out for the court is to "cool it," and the Costellos just laugh up their sleeves at what we call law enforcement. Think! Six and a half million dollars for the police alone to jail one arrestee.

Here is another constructive suggestion on how we can bust the numbers racket. The average bet on a number by a bettor,

usually a housewife, is either a dime or a quarter, rarely a half dollar. Why not make it possible for her or any other citizen to buy a lottery ticket for such a small sum and thereby deal a body blow to organized crime syndicates?

Perhaps better judgment would dictate that we adopt the California system for sentences. In our courts a defendant in Part I may be sentenced to a term of ten years; before another judge in Part II his punishment may be five years; in Part III the term imposed may be two years; and he may finally get to a part where the judge is so overwhelmed by compassion that he will pass the hat around among the spectators to make a collection for the poor darling. There is no individual more sensitive to what he calls his "rights" and fairness than the stir bird in his cell in prison. This disparity of sentences imposed for the same crime and upon the criminal with the same background has been the cause of severe tension and unrest and rebellion in many of our prisons which have blown up into riots.

I spent three months up at Auburn, New York, in preparing the defense of Max Becker, who in 1929 was accused of shooting and killing the principal keeper in the Auburn Prison riot which took the lives of nineteen prisoners and the life of the principal keeper. I know whereof I speak. In justice to the prisoner and for the benefit of society, let our courts sentence the convicted felon to an authority or board or call it what you will, and let this agency with its finger on the progress of the convict determine whether he is a fit subject to return to the community, of course the limit of term being fixed by the law itself.

We have just learned that your Legislature has finally, after all these many years, provided us with more judges. Let us hope that there is therefore a brighter day dawning on the horizon. Let us hope that with this additional judicial manpower we shall be able to effect a turnaround from the present buyer's market to a seller's market. Let us hope that the "slap on the wrist" that the scoundrel now faces will be supplanted by the "heavy fist of the law." Let us hope, too, that we will get judges with backbone and, Heaven forbid, not even one more "sweetheart"—and, oh, what damage that one "sweetheart" can do to the safety of the community. Let us hope that the slogan "Let's cool it, brother. To hell with the law!" shall henceforth be just a sorry memory of the past.

This, of course, is not the whole story. What we need is leadership, the right type of leadership—in our Congress, in the White House, in the capitals of our states, and in the city halls; leaders who will not be content with the rhetoric and oratory on Law Day but will back up our decent policemen our honest prosecutors, and the judges of our criminal courts.

The frightened citizen whose voice is unheard is yearning for such leadership. They see through those who are proclaiming their desire for courageous law enforcement, without fear or favor, on the one hand, but who are covertly soliciting the votes of the boisterous, violently disposed and threatening elements, who bode ill for the people of this nation.

Let us get on with the job of returning to sanity—to respect for law and order.

I AM THE FLAG

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, Memorial Day has just passed and all Americans paid tribute to those who

have given their life in the defense of this great Nation.

A living symbol of the hopes and dreams of those who have fallen and of those who continue on is the American Flag, Old Glory.

On June 14 we will celebrate the birth of this great symbol of freedom throughout the world, and I trust that all will take a moment to reflect upon what our flag really signifies.

At this point in the RECORD, I would like to insert a very poignant description of Old Glory sent to me by Mr. Herbert N. Evans, of West Palm Beach, Fla. This fitting memorial was read to the Veterans of Foreign Wars of Florida at their mid-winter conference:

#### I AM THE FLAG

I am your Flag. I was born on June 14, 1777. I am more than just a cloth shaped into a design. I am the refuge of the world's oppressed people. I am the silent sentinel of freedom; I am the emblem of the greatest sovereign nation on earth. I am the inspiration for which American Patriots gave their lives and fortunes. I have led your sons into battle from Valley Forge through the dark days after the sinking of the Maine, through the bloody days of Chateau Thierry and Belleau Woods, over the far reaches of the sands of Iwo Jima, Leyte, Africa—the mud and snow of Italy and Germany, to the bloody ridges of Korea and Viet Nam. I walk in silence with each of your honored dead to the final resting place beneath the silent white crosses, row upon row. I have flown through peace and war, strife and prosperity, and midst it all, I have been respected.

My red stripes symbolize the blood spilled in defense of this glorious Nation; my white stripes signify the burning tears shed by Americans who lost their sons, husbands and daughters; my blue field is indicative of God's Heaven under which I fly; and my stars, clustered together, unify fifty States as one—for God and Country.

OLD GLORY is my name, and proudly I wave on high. Honor me. Respect me. Defend me with your lives and your fortunes. Never let my enemies tear me down from my lofty position lest I never return.

Keep alight the fires of patriotism. Strive earnestly for the spirit of democracy; worship Eternal God and keep His Commandments; and I shall remain the bulwark of peace and freedom for all mankind.

For, I am your flag.

CHIEF OF POLICE DALLAS W. BIAS  
AUTHOR OF AN OUTSTANDING  
YOUTH PROGRAM

### HON. JOHN M. SLACK

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. SLACK. Mr. Speaker, contempt for the law and the growing public resentment against lawlessness are the dominant note reflected in today's published commentaries. As reflected in the mail received at my office and in discussions with my constituents, I have found that this subject is the first concern of the people of my constituency.

During the past 4 years we have seen a rising tide of permissiveness and indecisiveness at many levels of government; we have seen enforcement officials branded with smear labels simply be-

cause they have undertaken to do their duty.

At a time when many young people are being led astray; when the increase in crime among youngsters has increased 22 percent and arrests by an incredible 72 percent; with a resulting hatred by some toward officers who protect the public, it gives me great pleasure, therefore, to bring to your attention today a document which reflects the work of a forward-thinking and conscientious police official.

I refer to a summary of the very successful activity of Dallas W. Bias, chief of police in my home community of Charleston, W. Va. I include in the RECORD this description of his outstanding worthwhile program and recently published in the June 1968 issue of the FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin. Chief Bias has brushed aside the theories of the social failures who dominate our youth programs and has moved directly to the center of the action on human and individual terms. I say more power to him and may his work be imitated in 10,000 communities throughout the land.

The article follows:

#### HUMAN RELATIONS PROGRAM FOR YOUTH

Human relations are not necessarily an adult prerogative. They can also be a worthy and helpful endeavor for young people. With this thought in mind, the Charleston Police Department established a police cadet corps in three city high schools with the express purpose of promoting human relations among all age groups.

At the outset our plan was to have specially selected police officers become recognized instructors in the schools, organize cadet classes among the upperclassmen, and have the students wear cadet uniforms (which we had purchased) on the day of police classes. We also planned to improve the police image with the young people, encourage good citizenship, and teach the principles of law enforcement, with the side effect that some of the students might later enter the field of law enforcement. The city provided scholarships for 2 years of college for those interested.

In addition to the basic classroom police courses, the cadets were assigned to ride in regular squad cars 4 hours each week. This practice gave them the opportunity to increase their knowledge of police services and to acquaint themselves with the men of the department. Discussing what they had learned, the cadets could interest their fellow students in police work.

We now have two cadets who will join the Charleston Police Department at the expiration of their studies at West Virginia State College. Also, our relationship with the young people in the high schools has improved.

#### YOUTH PROGRAM NEEDED

After observing the riots in other trouble areas, we realized that we, like police in many other cities, must be out of touch with minority groups—and particularly with the Negro youth. As in other cities, we, too, have a low economic and predominantly Negro area, known as the Triangle, situated in midtown Charleston.

I was aware that we had a Triangle Improvement Council, staffed by both Negro and Caucasian leaders in that area, working to improve conditions. I was invited to meet with this group, and during the meeting I proposed the idea of permanently assigning a police officer to work in conjunction with the council in an effort to establish a community youth program.

The suggested program would involve the formation of an auxiliary police cadet unit whose members would participate in drill teams, drum and bugle corps, dances, and other activities. We found the community receptive to this idea, with parents, church organizations, and other groups willing to do their share. An outstanding Negro patrolman was selected to head the program whose primary aim was to bring about better relations among the police, civil rights groups, and the youth of the community.

We coordinated our program with a number of civic and neighborhood organizations. The assigned officer attends meetings of these organizations to learn their needs and the manner in which the police department can assist them.

#### PROGRAM LAUNCHED

We found that the youth of the community, especially those unable to participate in school athletics, needed a constructive recreational program. In order that these young people not become idle or delinquent, and to give them a feeling of usefulness, we formed drill teams and drum and bugle corps. These groups presently perform at halftime ceremonies of college, high school, and junior high school ball games in the city of Charleston and at other active civic events.

Speeches at least twice a week before church, school, and social groups help make the public aware of our objectives and the need for a better relationship in the community. As a result, we have several hundred people of other communities assisting us.

Since our program is not supported by any outside grants or funds, donations to cover the cost of equipment, drums, and uniforms have been received. Each active member is given an official uniform.

#### RESULTS OF PROGRAM

At the beginning of this program, which started on September 15, 1966, the director recruited 75 active members—ages ranging from 9 to 16 years—most of whom were known to the juvenile bureau as delinquents. After working for 4 months initiating additional activities, which included basketball, karate, judo, lectures, and dancing, we were able to enlist approximately 300 children, both boys and girls, from the ages of 9 through 18 years. Of these, a number who were school dropouts have been encouraged to reenroll in regular classes.

Several youths have been referred to the Job Corps and are receiving training at centers throughout the United States.

Through counseling, the department has helped a great number of families in the community solve problems that otherwise might have resulted in violations of the law.

At the end of 1966, with this program in effect less than 4 months, the yearly report on juvenile offenses showed approximately a 27-percent decrease in cases involving the Negro population, as opposed to approximately a 1½-percent reduction of cases involving the white population.

#### FURTHER BENEFITS

In 1967, because of the good will of a prominent citizen in this area, we were allowed to use part of a building, which was renovated by the hard work of our eager human relations officer and other volunteers. We now have an attractive Charleston Police Community Youth Canteen, with a jukebox, a place for dancing, pool tables, and candy and soft drink machines. All the money made through these activities goes into the Community Youth Fund, which is used for the purchase of musical equipment and other necessities of the youth corps.

We are endeavoring in every way to win the confidence of the parents and children in the community. To reduce the chances of misunderstanding of law enforcement actions by any minority group, we are strictly impartial in our enforcement procedures and activities.

The youth program has been endorsed by all civil rights groups, civic groups, and many of our citizens. We believe this is bringing about a better understanding among all people concerned. And efforts are being made to encourage representatives and leaders of minority groups to become more active and involved in the operations and management of local government.

**FRUITS OF THE PROGRAM**

Since the inception of the human relations program, its achievements have been appreciated from time to time. For example, late in 1967 the city council voted down a proposal for an open housing regulation. The night the measure was killed, many of its supporters walked out of the council meeting in protest. Understandably, the integrated group which sought passage of the legislation was disappointed. Sensing that the situation was ripe for exploitation, nonresident professional agitators moved into the area and made an attempt to start disorderly action. However, the youth leadership developed in connection with our human relations program would have no part of unlawful activity. Instead, a representative called at the police department for a permit to conduct an open housing demonstration parade in the downtown area.

Permission for the parade was granted, and the entire police force was used to cover the march route, handle traffic, and escort and protect a peaceful demonstration. The group of approximately 1,000 marchers and sympathizers assembled in front of the public library. After public speeches made by the leaders, the demonstrators carrying placards, headed by the department's motorcycle unit, marched in a peaceful manner. The demonstration lasted about 2 hours, and there were no disorderly incidents.

News accounts of the parade were favorable to both the police and the demonstrators. Leaders of the protest expressed gratitude and appreciation for "the splendid job" done by the police department. While there is still much to be done in the area of improved human relations, we feel that, along with other progress, one of the more vital phases of such a program—communication—has been accomplished. It is now possible for the police department to communicate with all segments of the community, and we know that, by working together in lawful pursuit of our objectives, we can build a better and safer community for all.

**CONGRATULATIONS TO MRS. BRUCE B. BENSON**

**HON. SILVIO O. CONTE**

OF MASSACHUSETTS  
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I should like to offer my warmest congratulations to my good friend Mrs. Bruce B. Benson of Amherst, Mass., upon her recent election to the national presidency of the League of Women Voters. This position of leadership, which I know will be outstandingly filled by Mrs. Benson, carries with it the responsibility of presenting the women's view on political issues at all levels of our government. As Mrs. Benson has stated, the league's major purpose is to "seek and find solutions to the important problems facing the country."

Mrs. Benson has further stated that she believes the Nation's most serious problems are poverty and discrimination.

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Since her graduation in 1949 from Smith College, Mrs. Benson has been active in her attempt to bring about governmental reform and civil rights. At the league's annual convention in Chicago, Mrs. Benson was actively involved in blocking a move by a New Jersey-based faction to remove the league from its active, politically involved role.

Before assuming her position as league president, she was the second vice president and chairman of the organization's committee on human resources. Mrs. Benson has served as the Massachusetts league president for two terms from 1961 to 1965. Included in her record of dedicated service, Mrs. Benson was a member of the Massachusetts Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights and one of the 21 Massachusetts citizens appointed to the board of education to study the educational effect of racial imbalance in the public schools.

I feel confident that under Mrs. Benson's leadership, the league will make even greater contributions in the future than the outstanding efforts it has made in the past and I stand ready to help forward their cause in any way I can. A letter and articles follow:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
Washington, D.C., May 6, 1968.

Mrs. BRUCE B. BENSON,  
President, League of Women Voters of the  
United States, Washington, D.C.

DEAR LUCY: I want to congratulate you on your election as National President of the League of Women Voters. I can't think of anyone more qualified to take on such a tremendous responsibility and I want to wish you every success in the challenging year that lies ahead.

As you know, I have always felt that the role of the woman in the American political picture is an increasingly important one. As President of the League, you will have an unequalled opportunity for service, and for carrying forward the League's national programs and goals. I am certain that during your Presidency the League will make an even more worthwhile contribution than it has in the past, and I certainly stand ready to help you in every way I can.

It will be the League's responsibility to set out the issues that are paramount in this complex era, to stimulate action to improve conditions and to bring about changes for the better in all levels of government.

I am sure you know that this will not be an easy task—but it will certainly be one you can handle with flying colors.

I want you to know how proud I am with your achievement.

With warmest best wishes, I am

Cordially yours,

SILVIO O. CONTE,  
Member of Congress.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, May 1, 1968]

**LEAGUE IS DIVIDED**  
(By Carol Liston)

CHICAGO.—A publicly genteel, privately angry, civil war is brewing at the League of Women Voters national convention here.

The issue is whether to take action on current problems or to "withdraw indefinitely" and study the structure of government.

Some 1800 League members gathered here for a week-long session to chart the non-partisan organization's program for the next four years.

With recommendations from state Leagues,

the national board has developed a four-point program for action by the delegates.

However, a faction led by Mrs. Robert Klein, New Jersey League president, is organizing to block the proposals when they are considered.

Mrs. Klein and her group proposed one or two main topics for the League program. The most important Mrs. Klein said, would be a study of intergovernment relations.

This is far from the activist programs in governmental reform and civil rights which the League has been working on for many years.

It brings cries of despair from members of the national board, like Lucy Benson of Amherst, former Massachusetts League president, who, it is expected, will be voted national president this week.

"Most of us believe the purpose of the League is to stimulate action on issues and bring about changes of government at the local, state and Federal level," Mrs. Benson said.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, May 5, 1968]

**LEAGUE'S NEW PRESIDENT SEARCHES FOR SOLUTIONS**

(By Carol Liston)

Mrs. Bruce B. Benson, newly elected national president of the League of Women Voters, believes that the League's major purpose is to "seek and find solutions to the important problems facing the country."

At the League's annual convention in Chicago last week, a New Jersey-based faction attempted to pull the non-partisan League out of active, politically involved programs and start an "indefinite study of the structures of government."

The proposal, which Mrs. Benson said she considered a "real threat" to the meaning of the organization, was narrowly defeated.

Before she assumed the League presidency, Mrs. Benson was national chairman of the organization's committee on the Development of Human Resources. Mrs. Benson, who lives in Amherst, Mass., is also a member of the Massachusetts Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

"There is no doubt that poverty and discrimination are the number one problems facing America today," she said.

Although she has no children, Mrs. Benson was one of 21 Massachusetts citizens appointed by the state Board of Education in the 1964-65 school year, to study the educational effects of racial imbalance in the public schools.

In the mid 1950s the Massachusetts League made a study of why it was not very effective politically. And from that study, its members developed a new sense of how to organize and lobby for League programs.

"It wasn't easy," said Mrs. Benson, "but I've learned to meet with legislators and lobby for a bill we support and avoid all the topics he and I might fight about."

Her practical approach showed when she was elected state president for two terms, from 1961 to 1965. In those two terms, Mrs. Benson led a successful referendum drive to cut the powers of the Massachusetts Governor's Council.

Just before her second term expired, Mrs. Benson was seriously ill with spinal meningitis. With her recovery, she went on to membership on the League's national board. She served as second vice president until her election as president.

A 1949 graduate of Smith College, Mrs. Benson returned there in 1953 to work for her master's degree.

Mrs. Benson is married to a professor of physics at Amherst College, whom she met on a "semi-blind date" in her senior year at Smith.

"THE HILLS BEYOND"—AN ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE WILLIAM L. HUNGATE

**HON. PAUL C. JONES**

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I am happy for my colleagues to share an address delivered by the Honorable WILLIAM L. HUNGATE, to the graduating class of Culver-Stockton College, at the commencement exercises held in Canton, Mo., on June 3. Culver-Stockton is one of the many fine colleges we have in Missouri, and is one of many fine institutions sponsored by the Disciples of Christ. Along with our colleague, Congressman HUNGATE, I happen to be a member of this denomination, and have visited Culver-Stockton's beautiful campus and have watched the development of this college under the direction of Dr. Fred Helsabeck, president of that institution and have witnessed the expansion through the construction of many new buildings. It was my privilege to give the commencement address to the graduating class of 1963, and am thus further privileged to welcome into the ranks of the honorary graduates of Culver-Stockton, our colleague, Representative HUNGATE, who on the occasion of his most recent visit to the college was honored by having conferred upon him the honorary degree of doctor of laws.

Incidentally, I should mention that following in the steps of his illustrious predecessor, the late Honorable Clarence Cannon, as a honorary alumnus of Culver-Stockton, Representative HUNGATE is further being recognized throughout the Ninth District of Missouri as a worthy successor to Mr. Cannon who served his Nation, his State, and particularly the Ninth District for a period of more than half a century, as a secretary to the late Speaker Champ Clark; as parliamentarian of the House of Representatives, and following Mr. Clark's death was elected to the House of Representatives where he served for more than 40 years. Following is the address delivered by Representative HUNGATE:

**THE HILLS BEYOND**

You have graduated. This is the time when civilization will be graduated or be hanged. Joining the immense reality of the universe with your personal reality will form the framework of destiny for each of you. You are men and women of your century.

Much shall be asked of you, to whom much has been given in the way of talent and health. To justify these inherited and God-given legacies, you who possess strength and skills must work hard, so that there can be money for hospitals, and schools, and free lunches for hungry children, and factories with good wages. The old concept that a great many people have an equal opportunity to convert themselves into a few millionaires no longer satisfies or appeals. The objective is not opportunity for a few among many. The object is that no one shall become or remain a beggar or slave to extreme poverty. In a limited but very real sense, every man who is sick or starving is a slave. If we cannot save the many who are poor then we cannot hope to save the few who are rich.

It is a time to be eminently practical positivist in the highest sense of the word. This is not the epoch for building mirages.

Do not dissipate your strength in useless battles, striving after goals impossible to attain. There are spirits who seek the most beautiful of illusions. Is there no manner of bringing these people to the practical way? Let us tie our desires to the impositions of reason, not wasting our valor on conflicts of fantasy.

The poet, Ferlinghetti, accuses us of turning America into a concrete continent of freeways 50 lanes wide, with cinerama holy days, drugged store cowboys and disowned Indians, unroman Senators and conscientious non-objectors, singing my country tears of Thee, while permitting radioactive contamination without representation.

In the political laboratory that is these United States, we have achieved accelerated progress. There have been know-nothings and haters in our society—and some of these, almost extinct, creatures still exist today in some unlighted corners—but they have in the long run been in the minority. There have been times in our history when they seemed to be gaining—or should I say, the rest of us losing—but they have been outnumbered in time and overcome by generations of new Americans dedicated to greater causes and higher goals.

Our American Nation—above all others—has rejected the know-nothings. For we have had, through our history, continuing commitment to moderation and, I might add, a disrespect for extremism and those who would destroy.

Really understanding human needs is half the job of meeting them. It is important to approach the writing of laws, themselves cold and indifferent things, from clear, warm pictures in our minds. A family sitting down around a supper table, rent coming due when there has been illness in the family, a mortgage coming due when crops have failed or markets declined, a child going off to school dressed differently from the others, the feeling of someone denied a job he would have gotten had his skin been a different color, eligible citizens denied support for public office because of their religious belief.

The burden of sustaining the American dream and the burdens of American's wars and riots—unlike Shakespeare's rain—does not fall on all alike. There are obvious inequities.

As John Kennedy reminded us, "There is always inequity in life. Some men are killed in a war, and some men are wounded, while some men never leave the country. It's very hard in military life, or in personal life, to insure complete equality. Life is unfair. Some people are sick and others are well." Indeed, death reveals our inequality. In one week last month over 500 men died in Vietnam but our national grief is greater over the assassination of one minister in Memphis; 40 people died on a bridge in West Virginia but our sense of loss is more acute over 1 Massachusetts man gunned down in Dallas. Death reveals our inequality.

Man is but a blossom of the air, held by the earth, cursed by the stars, inhaled by death. The breath and shadow of this coalition at certain times elevate him. Free birds only let us look at them. A poet leaves traces of his passing, not proofs. Only traces make us dream.

Let us, the living, relieve inequalities and inequities where we can, and endure with courage those that cannot pass from us.

"Anger won't help. I was born angry. Angry that my father was being burnt alive in the mills; angry because I was that very one somebody was supposed to be fighting and dying for; turn him over; take a good look at his face: somebody is going to see that face for a long time. I don't know this black man. I don't know these white men. But I know that one of my hands is black, and one is white. I know that one part of me is being strangled, while another part laughs horribly, until it changes. I shall be forever killing: or being killed." (First will and testament, Kenneth Patchen.)

Recall Kafka's lines, "From a certain point onward there is no longer any turning back. That is the point that must be reached."

Perhaps that point is here, now, whether we like it or not.

Uncharted areas of science and space, unconquered pockets of ignorance and prejudice, unanswered questions of starving millions—co-existing with mountains of surplus, unsolved problems of war and peace.

Too many of us want the serenity of faith without the agony, victory without struggle, solvency without taxes, leadership without criticism, peace without sacrifice, and salvation without conviction. Former Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, John Gardner, in words reminiscent of John Kennedy says: "Don't ask me what the Government is going to do. Tell me what you are going to do and tell me how the Government can help."

It is written that in ancient days Sisyphus incurred the wrath of the gods. As punishment he was condemned eternally to push a large boulder up a mountain and, of course, when it reached the pinnacle, it always tumbled back to the foot of that hill. Sisyphus was condemned each time to return and push it up again. Those ancient dieties conceived of no worse fate than a task performed without hope of ultimate success or conclusion. And yet Albert Camus suggests Sisyphus triumphs over them by finding happiness in the work itself and in the skill and strength he brought to his assigned task.

Perhaps we all are climbing a steep hill—far from the top, but already we may see the top in the distance. Let us look at it even from afar—

At the top of that symbolic hill we can see a people well-housed—very few in luxurious palaces but none in wretched huts or slums. See the opportunity for honest work at a rate of pay adequate to a good and satisfying life. See the families that are at peace in the thought that their children will be educated to the fullest of their capabilities. See us all working with enthusiasm, freedom and respect for the dignity of every living creature.

We face problems we did not create—tasks we did not seek. We face them as students and teachers, priests and parishioners, diagnosticians and diseased, as parents, children, husbands, wives, and brothers all. We face them as God made us. We can be no more. Let us make sure we are no less.

**A SOUND USE OF SURPLUS WEAPONS AND EQUIPMENT**

**HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES**

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I think the Members of the House will be interested in seeing a situation corrected under which surplus usable weapons and equipment could serve a beneficial purpose. At present it is necessary that they be destroyed. Title I of the Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice Assistance Act of 1967 contains language which authorizes grants to States and units of general local government for new approaches and improvements in law enforcement and criminal justice. One of the purposes for which these grants are authorized to be used includes the procurement of equipment and other items necessary for public protection. There is such equipment available but it is denied to State and local law-enforcement units by Federal regulation.

The military services and a few of the smaller nondefense agencies are equipped with weapons and equipment of the type which could be used quite effectively by State and local law-enforcement agencies. At the present time when equipment of this type becomes surplus to military needs, it is disposed of according to regulations promulgated by the General Services Administration. These regulations are rather complex in certain particulars. In others, they are prohibitive of the sale of a portion of equipment to anyone. This is particularly true with reference to firearms. The GSA regulation promulgated on February 26, 1965, states:

Firearms may be disposed of at public sales only for scrap after total destruction by crushing, cutting, breaking, or deforming to be performed in a manner to assure that the firearms are rendered completely inoperative and to preclude their being made operative.

Such weapons may, however, be disposed of through the military assistance programs. In this program, for example, approximately \$30 million of equipment such as pistols, carbines, rifles, and sub-machineguns which could be used by law-enforcement agencies in this country, have been made available to foreign governments.

It appears to me, Mr. Speaker, that considerable savings would accrue to both Federal and local governments if equipment of this type could be made available under the grant authority of title I and subjected, of course, to the rather rigid and proper controls set forth in this title. It does not make sense to me to burn or grind into scrap, firearms which can assist the law-enforcement officials of this country. I urge that the Attorney General take steps toward making such equipment available in this manner. If necessary he should be instructed to do so by the appropriate committees of Congress. Certainly such procedures would result in appreciable savings to the Federal Government as well as to the State and local governments concerned with this program.

Mr. Speaker, lest someone should construe that such weapons should be made available promiscuously, I reiterate that this can and should be done under the restrictions imposed by the appropriate sections of title I of this bill in the same manner as grants would be administered. My proposal is simply that we substitute assets available to agencies of the Federal Government for additional Federal funds and thereby attempt to save a little money, something which seems to be the goal of most, if not all, Members of this body.

**JOBS IN HOUSING**

**HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM**  
OF NEW YORK  
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I commend to my colleagues and other readers of the RECORD the following interesting article from Commonweal Magazine,

June 7, issue, about H.R. 16266, the "jobs in housing" bill, which I introduced and about the unusual group that originated the proposal:

**PUBLIC WORKS, NOT CHARITY: BLACK HOUSES, BLACK JOBS**  
(By Ernest Garvey)

Some weeks ago, a militant, Harlem-based group called the National Committee for a Confrontation with Congress (CWC) circulated a handbill which began:

"We don't want integration, public housing in white communities, welfare, anti-poverty.

"We do want H.R. 16266."

The following morning CWC received a phone call from Rep. Paul Fino, a conservative Republican who represents a white backlash Bronx constituency, inquiring what H.R. 16266 was and what he could do to help.

H.R. 16266 and the Committee for a Confrontation with Congress are the remarkable creations of two remarkable men, James Haughton, a Harlem labor leader, and Tim Cooney, a white organizer who recently left a \$25,000 job as Assistant New York City Housing Administrator to work full time with Haughton and the Confrontation. H.R. 16266, according to its preamble, is "a bill to increase the funds authorized for existing programs to build low and moderate income housing, and for other purposes." In fact, the bill proposes to increase the level of federally-aided housing construction nearly tenfold, to 700,000 a year, at an annual cost of \$5.1 billion.

CWC's theory is ingeniously simple: 700,000 new housing units a year in central city areas is the level it will take to rebuild the slums in the foreseeable future. In the process, about 500,000 well-paying construction jobs will be generated for under-employed Negro men. Recognizing that the problems of the ghetto transcend jobs and housing, CWC nevertheless believes that by focusing now on a single, tangible bill rather than an amorphous "urban Marshall plan," political clout can be maximized.

Cooney and Haughton convinced New York Democrat Jonathan Bingham to introduce CWC's bill. The group's first confrontation with Congress in late March picked up eight co-sponsors for H.R. 16266, mostly other New Yorkers. They returned to the Capitol April 25 with a busload for an intensive lobbying session. Emanuel Celler saw to it that they got a Judiciary Committee room for their meeting.

A parade of Congressmen welcomed the group and pledged their support. Rep. Henry Reuss, a leading pragmatic liberal on the Housing Subcommittee, told them he didn't know if they could get quite 700,000 units, but that he'd work for 500,000 or 600,000. The backlog of deteriorated housing, Reuss reminded them, is the same today as it was twenty years ago when Congress passed the National Housing Act with its goal of decent, safe and sanitary housing for all. William Barrett of Philadelphia, the Subcommittee Chairman, expressed general support for the plan.

In actuality, the central preoccupation of the Housing Subcommittee in the coming weeks will be the Administration Housing bill, an omnibus package which modifies existing programs and proposes to boost low- and middle-income housing construction to about 300,000 annually, or four times the present rate. Bingham says he will try to work his bill into the Administration package in Committee. This will be no mean trick, but Haughton and Cooney have come up with an idea that just might catch the imagination of Congress, mostly because an intensive program to rebuild the ghetto, in the ghetto, and by the ghetto, would visibly help blacks, and mollify frightened whites. Jobs and housing are two of the most basic keys to the urban crisis. The Committee for a Confrontation with Congress combines a genuine

grass-roots base with a salty political sophistication. It is at once militant, yet committed to "thinking legislatively" as Jim Haughton puts it.

The idea of a massive housing program explicitly designed to generate jobs for the ghetto originated about three years ago with Cyril Tyson of the New York City Commission on Manpower and Career Development and Kenneth Marshall of the Metropolitan Applied Research Corporation, a Ford-funded group directed by Psychologist Kenneth Clark. As Tim Cooney expresses it, defense spending, the space program, federal airline and highway subsidies, existing suburban-oriented FHA programs, education and research subsidies, are all essentially work programs for affluent white America. Yet, he says, "all the visible programs for black America are basically charity, and charity is always self-defeating." H.R. 16266 is simply a "good, fat public works program for the black man," which incidentally meets another critical social need—housing.

We asked ourselves, says Cooney, what kind of top-dollar careers are possible for an uneducated Negro—and we came up with two: entertainment and construction. You don't need a high school education to be an entertainer, but more black entertainers is hardly any solution. That left construction.

Jim Haughton is convinced from his experience organizing black construction workers that the real problem is not simply discrimination—at least in New York. The problem is not enough work to go round, and the people who got there first, mostly white unionists, are hanging on to the available jobs. New York has good anti-discrimination laws, and Haughton has made much progress in integrating such job openings as exist. Where few Negroes were found on a major construction contract, he simply took to calling the city contracting agency and threatening a sit-in—not in the contractor's office, but at the city agency. This usually brought quick results.

But Haughton wants more jobs; then the pressure will be off the building trades leadership to hire more blacks by displacing white unionists. Two factors suggest that most jobs generated by a building program of this volume would in fact go to ghetto dwellers. First, the latest federal housing legislation requires that federally-subsidized housing produce jobs for residents of the target areas. The Model Cities Act of 1965 required this, and its implementation has been the subject of a bitter hassle between construction unions and H.U.D., with the government finally taking a fairly tough stand. The Housing Act of 1968, as reported by the Senate Committee in early May, explicitly extends this requirement to all federal low- and middle-income housing programs. It will be more readily enforced if the volume is sufficient to generate plentiful jobs, as Haughton and Cooney propose. Secondly, with the ghetto becoming better organized and more militant, it becomes increasingly out of the question to bring a mostly-white construction crew into such areas as central Harlem, Newark, Watts, etc.

The Confrontation vehemently opposes the Administration proposal to generate job opportunities by creating low-skilled public sector jobs and subsidizing training programs in private industry. These have to be bottom-dollar jobs, says Tim Cooney. They can't possibly pay as well as unsubsidized jobs. Industry may benefit, but the race gap will continue.

Cooney is probably right. Last year the average graduate of the federal manpower training program earned \$1.61 an hour. Negroes can get jobs now at fifty and sixty dollars a week, Haughton says. There are plenty of want ads for dishwashers and messenger boys. The need is for good jobs.

Cooney and Haughton initially tried to sell their plan to the established civil rights leadership. They rapidly discovered that most

civil rights organizations are tax exempt. "Roy Wilkins can call for a Marshall plan, but he can't lobby for our bill." By the same token, the Poor People's Campaign thus far lacks hard legislative proposals. By and large, so does the Riot Commission Report, though it did endorse an annual housing construction rate of 600,000 units.

Shortly before he was murdered, Martin Luther King tentatively agreed to adopt HR 16266 as a specific demand. Haughton and Cooney are hopeful that Rev. Ralph Abernathy will agree to do so when the Washington march reaches full strength.

There is a confluence of political forces which bring the Confrontation's idea within the realm of possibility. King's assassination finally drove home the urgency of meaningful action to redeem the American promise to black America. The Riot Commission gave radical analysis and massive undertakings some respectability. The war may at last end, and both the Congress and the next Administration will be in the market for a program which is tangible, which finally will have some visible impact, which will not bear an impossible price tag, and which will be tolerable to the white majority. Cooney and Haughton think they have such a program.

The Committee for a Confrontation with Congress is now organizing support in several cities. A militant black organization committed to "thinking legislatively" may come to be very welcome indeed. The Confrontation wants to focus black political demands on this one bill. It backs extensive education and income-maintenance legislation too, but is convinced that tactics require identifying one clear demand at a time.

Tim Cooney believes that HR 16266 has two strong selling points. It will meet employment and housing needs right in the black community, and it will cool white fears. "When the brothers have some money in their pockets," he says, "then open housing becomes meaningful. If the black man wants to stay in Harlem, he'll have a decent place to live. If he wants to move to the suburbs, he won't scare the neighbors. And if he wants to go back to Africa, he'll have the carfare."

#### DEDICATION OF COL. J. MONROE JOHNSON BUST

#### HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, it is now my pleasure to commend to the attention of my colleagues in the Congress the complete proceedings on May 6 when the bust of the late Col. Monroe Johnson was dedicated in the Interstate Commerce Commission:

DEDICATION OF J. MONROE JOHNSON BUST AT THE OFFICES OF THE INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION, WASHINGTON, D.C., MONDAY, MAY 6, 1968

Present: Paul J. Tierney, Chairman; Virginia Mae Brown, Vice Chairman; Kenneth H. Tuggle, Commissioner; Rupert L. Murphy, Commissioner; Laurence K. Walrath, Commissioner; John W. Bush, Commissioner; Willard Deason, Commissioner; George M. Stafford, Commissioner; Dale W. Hardin, Commissioner.

Former Commissioners: The Honorable Everett Hutchinson, The Honorable William H. Tucker, The Honorable Clyde E. Herring, The Honorable Howard G. Freas, The Honorable Charles A. Webb, The Honorable Owen F. Clarke, The Honorable Donald P. McPherson.

Also present:

The Honorable Alan S. Boyd, Secretary of the Department of Transportation.

The Honorable Strom Thurmond, Senator of South Carolina.

Congressman William Jennings Bryan Dorn of South Carolina.

Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D.D., Chaplain, U.S. Senate.

Mrs. Alice LaRoque.

Mr. Robert Johnson.

Mrs. Robert Johnson, Jr.

Mrs. Wright.

Mr. Charles Stott.

Mr. James R. Mann.

Mr. Samuel P. Delisi, President, Association of Interstate Commerce Commission Practitioners.

Mr. Richard E. Sigmon, President Elect, Association of Interstate Commerce Commission Practitioners.

Mr. John R. Sims, Jr., Treasurer, Association of Interstate Commerce Commission Practitioners.

Mrs. Clydine M. Bridgeman, Executive Secretary, Association of Interstate Commerce Commission Practitioners.

Mr. William T. Faricy, Association of Interstate Commerce Commission Practitioners.

Mr. James W. Hoeland, Association of Interstate Commerce Commission Practitioners.

#### PROCEEDINGS

Chairman TIERNEY. Good morning, ladies and gentlemen.

The Commission is meeting today to participate in a ceremony to dedicate the bust of the late, Honorable J. Monroe Johnson of South Carolina.

This bust is being presented to the Commission by our own Association of Practitioners.

On behalf of the Commission, I would like to welcome everybody; and, if I may, I should like to take time out to introduce some distinguished guests.

I would like first to introduce the members of the immediate family of Commissioner Johnson who are seated here to my right facing the audience: Mrs. LaRoque, who is Commissioner Johnson's sister; Bob Johnson, Commissioner Johnson's brother; Mrs. Bob Johnson, Commissioner Johnson's sister-in-law; Mrs. Wright, his cousin; and Mr. Bob Johnson, Jr., and Mr. Charles Stott, who are his grand nephews.

We are also delighted to have with us here Alan Boyd, Secretary of the Department of Transportation.

I also note that Senator Strom Thurmond, and Congressman Dorn of South Carolina are here.

And in the front row here a group of distinguished former Commissioners, from my left to right: Commissioner Owen F. Clarke, Commissioner William H. Tucker, Commissioner Clyde E. Herring, Commissioner Howard G. Freas, Commissioner Charles A. Webb, and Commissioner Donald P. McPherson.

At this time I would like to call on the Master of Ceremonies for this occasion, Sam Delisi, President of the Interstate Commerce Commission Practitioners.

Mr. DELISI. The presentation of colors.

(The presentation of colors was made by the United States Coast Guard Color Guard.)

Mr. DELISI. Invocation. Dr. Frederick Brown Harris.

(The invocation was given by Dr. Harris.)

Mr. DELISI. Remarks. Mr. deWeldon.

#### REMARKS BY THE SCULPTOR

Mr. DEWELDON. Mr. Chairman, honored guests, ladies and gentlemen.

It is a great pleasure for me to be here today and an honor to have been commissioned by the Association of Interstate Commerce Commission Practitioners to create the portrait bust of Colonel J. Monroe Johnson. It means a great deal to me to take

part in commemorating Colonel Johnson who played such an important role in the Interstate Commerce Commission and in the service of his country.

To do justice to a great man is not an easy task, particularly since I did not have the pleasure of knowing Colonel Johnson during his lifetime. I have had, therefore, to rely on photographs of the Colonel, some only small candid photos.

In sculpture the back of the head is almost as important as the face of one's subject. How often we recognize a friend from the back of his head. The shape and the position of the head on the shoulders is an integral part of a man's character. Fortunately, I had Commissioners Murphy and Hutchinson to tell me about Colonel Johnson's personality and his way of life. I studied the photos and the biographical material made available to me in order to portray this man as you will see him today. When Commissioner Murphy saw the completed bust, he said that the Colonel looked as though he had just taken his pipe out of his mouth to say a kind word.

A sculptor's interpretation is limited to a portrayal of the spirit and character of his subject with light and shadow as his principal tools, whereas a writer has a wide choice of words from which to choose in spinning his tale. Once these words were written they are understood by all who read them.

The play of light and shadow on a bronze bust is ever changing, creating many moods: sometimes brooding, sometimes cheerful. Light can make the likeness speak or remain silent.

In creating the bronze of Colonel Johnson I have attempted to portray his brilliance and lucidity of mind as well as his simplicity, a quick blunt man sometimes who deep inside was filled with kindness and love for his fellow man. He was thoughtful and compassionate. His own happy nature was reflected by those who came in contact with him. He was loved and respected by all who knew him. His sense of justice and integrity were conspicuous.

I keenly felt these attributes during my work and sincerely hope they will be apparent to all and a never ending source of inspiration.

Thank you. [Applause.]

Mr. DELISI. Now, the unveiling of the bust by Colonel Johnson's brother.

(The bust was unveiled by Mr. Robert N. Johnson.)

Mr. DELISI. The dedication. Mr. Faricy.

#### THE DEDICATION

Mr. FARICY. Mr. Chairman, members of the Interstate Commerce Commission, Members of Congress, Secretary Boyd, fellow members of the Association of Interstate Commerce Commission Practitioners and fellow members of the Post Mortem Club, an organization that, as all of you know, is very close to the heart of the man we honor today, ladies and gentlemen.

The roster of members past and present of this oldest and most respected of the regulatory agencies contains the names of many distinguished Americans. An effort to name even some of those who have brought distinction to its work and added luster to its name would risk the injustice of inadvertent omission. The list is long and inscribed in such characters of brilliance and durability as to constitute a shining and enduring record.

But we can agree today that in all this long history of the Commission now extending over 80 years, no name stands out greater than that of the man whose bust we dedicate today.

J. Monroe Johnson commenced his service to this Commission in 1940 and continued it through the year 1955. Twice he served as its Chairman. The mighty Colonel, as many of

us who knew him often referred to him, was really a great American, engineer, soldier, statesman, administrator of exceptional capacity. He served his country well and faithfully.

Monroe Johnson was a most able executive. As head of the Office of Transportation in World War II, he had the vision and foresight to avoid the mistakes which had led to government operation of the railroads in World War I. He knew that each of the forms of transportation was well organized on a national scale: the trucks through the American Trucking Associations, the buses through the National Association of Motor Bus Operators, the pipelines through the Association of Oil Pipelines, the inland waterway carriers through the American Waterways Operators, the airlines through the Air Transport Association, the railroads through the Association of American Railroads and the American Short Line Railroad Association, and all transport through the Transportation Association of America.

Colonel Johnson knew also that the shipping and receiving public were well organized through the National Industrial Traffic League and the National Association of Shippers Advisory Boards. He realized that agricultural transportation was capably organized through the farm organizations. Although as head of the Office of Transportation he was not responsible for air transport, he recognized the importance of this growing arm of transportation and coordinated his efforts with those responsible in that field.

In surface transportation Monroe Johnson preferred to work through and with the existing transportation organizations, believing in the sound principle of delegating authority and holding responsible those to whom authority was delegated and being unafraid either to praise and reward the efficient or to fire and punish the inefficient. He coordinated the effort of America's force of transport and its uses so well that at the end of the greatest war in history it could truly be said that nowhere in all the world was the military might of America lessened or the striking power of its armed forces diminished by any failure of transportation here at home.

His brethren of the Interstate Commerce Commission knew his essential kindness and his innate courtesy. On occasion he could be gruff and even impatient, but he had a passion for justice and believed that justice delayed would be justice denied.

Like most great executives he believed in deciding things quickly without being afraid to be wrong once in a while. Probably many of you have heard him remark, as I have, that perfection was an attribute that the Almighty reserved to himself when he created man.

A trait of Monroe Johnson that stood out was an intense patriotism. I recall one time being on a speaking engagement with him out in the Midwest. His talk preceded mine and he got up to speak immediately after the playing and singing of our National Anthem. Almost as the echoes of the last line of the Star Spangled Banner were fading, he took his text—Land of the Free and Home of the Brave. He went on to say that this country would stay a land of the free so long as it remained the home of the brave and no longer. I wonder what he would have said and thought of today's draft card burners.

Always a vigorous advocate of a cabinet Department of Transportation headed by a Secretary of Transportation, Colonel Johnson's voice was one of the most prominent in behalf of the affirmative of what was once regarded as a highly controversial question. While the Colonel did not live to see the Department of Transportation come to its present efficient reality, he would have been delighted to see how well it is working out and how the fears of those who once opposed the idea have been proven groundless.

Monroe Johnson believed in our two-party political system. He was a life-long democrat who would argue at the drop of a hat with anyone who ever criticized his party. President Truman held him in highest esteem and the President's door was always open to him whether on official business or a friendly social call from this friend he called "Steamboat."

On behalf of the Association of Interstate Commerce Commission Practitioners, it is my high privilege today to dedicate this beautiful statue. In presenting it and dedicating it, we dedicate it to the members of the Commission present and future in the hope and in the confident belief that your labors and theirs will contribute to the welfare of America with the same nobility of purpose that characterized this great American, J. Monroe Johnson.

(Applause.)

Mr. DELISI. Mr. Hoeland will present the bust.

#### PRESENTATION OF THE BUST

Mr. HOELAND. Mr. Chairman, members of the Commission and distinguished guests.

As most of you know, the Interstate Commerce Commission is the oldest of all Federal regulatory agencies, and in the opinion of many it has acquired the reputation of being the best agency, the most responsible in performing its responsibilities and the most effective. This reputation has been achieved not because the Interstate Commerce Commission was the first agency in point of time, but because the Commission has been able to attract to its bench great Americans who are capable and dedicated to their responsibilities and who stand up in that capacity and discharge their responsibilities fairly.

The Association of Interstate Commerce Commission Practitioners may have been remiss in not honoring more distinguished members of the Commission than it has honored heretofore. In part we are at least rectifying that by honoring one great former Commissioner, the late and honorable J. Monroe Johnson; and it is certainly a privilege for me to be a part of this ceremony.

Mr. Farley has given you a very accurate description and insight into this gentleman and a great person. I have some facts which may be of interest to you although this won't tend to explain what a wonderful person Colonel Johnson was.

He was born in Marion, South Carolina, on May 5, 1878. He was schooled in the public schools of South Carolina and the University of South Carolina and Furman University. On graduation from college, he entered in the civil engineering profession in Marion and opened up an office there which he maintained for a great number of years after leaving Marion.

It was while in this profession that he married Miss Helen Barnwell in 1900.

His career as a public servant began rather early in life because as an engineer he was assigned to work on various state and municipal projects and therefore became associated with the public service that was later to be so conclusive.

In 1916 he was appointed as First Chairman of the South Carolina State Highway Division and he left that position to enter World War I. His Federal career began in 1935 when he was appointed by the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt to serve as Assistant Secretary of Commerce, a position which he held until 1940 at which time he was appointed Commissioner of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Mr. Farley has given you his remarkable career since then, and his accomplishments while at the Commission.

I might say that there is another facet to this great man, and this was his dedication to this country during time of war. He served not only in World War I, but he also had

enlisted in the Spanish-American War and rose to the rank of sergeant before being discharged. In World War I he was asked by the Governor of South Carolina to recruit a battalion of military engineers for immediate service overseas with the Rainbow Division. This he did. He assumed command of the regiment and became a chief engineer of the division in 1918 during the first Argonne offensive. His activities in the campaigns of Europe resulted in his being awarded the Distinguished Service Medal of the United States, the Verdun Medal and Legion of Honor from France and the Order of Leopold II of Belgium.

For World War II he was also awarded by President Truman the Medal for Merit and the United States Navy with its Certificate of Appreciation.

So I think we can see that Colonel Johnson was a devoted American whether in time of peace or war. I don't believe, as capably done as this is, Mr. deWeldon, we can really pay accurate tribute to what Mr. Johnson was. It's a beautifully done work of art, and I wish to express my thanks on behalf of the Association for the wonderful work which you have done for the Commission and the country.

Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the Association of ICC Practitioners and the host of contributors to this memorial, it is my high privilege and honor to present to the Commission this bust of J. Monroe Johnson. [Applause.]

Mr. DELISI. The acceptance of the bust. Honorable Commissioner Murphy.

#### THE ACCEPTANCE

Commissioner MURPHY. Gentlemen, colleagues, ladies, present and past officers and members of the Practitioners Association and distinguished guests.

It is an honor and a privilege to accept on behalf of the Commission and its staff this tribute to a great man and a dedicated public servant.

I will accept it also for former Commissioners and staff and all who have been inspired by the diligent service of Brother Johnson.

We accept also for those who come after us who will be able to witness—through the presence of this bust in the Rotunda between these two historic hearing rooms—that the contemporaries and the associates and the friends of Colonel Johnson held him in deep esteem and were grateful for his long lasting contributions to transportation and the public interest.

Thank you. [Applause.]

Mr. DELISI. Benediction. Dr. Harris.

(The benediction was given by Dr. Harris.) Chairman TIERNEX. Ladies and gentlemen, this concludes the ceremony.

Before we adjourn, I should like to invite all of you to come across the hall in Hearing Room A for coffee and light punch. I might emphasize it is light.

The meeting is adjourned.

Thank you.

(Whereupon, at 10:40 p.m., the meeting adjourned.)

#### NIXON INSISTS ON ORDER

### HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN OF TENNESSEE

#### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, order must be restored throughout the land. We cannot continue to condone the things that are happening on some of our university and college campuses, on our streets, in our cities, and through-

out the land. I call the attention of the readers of the RECORD to the editorial that appeared in the Tuesday, May 28, 1968 issue of the Knoxville Journal, entitled "Nixon Insists on Order."

#### NIXON INSISTS ON ORDER

Of all the presidential hopefuls in the field Richard M. Nixon is the only one who in his experience has been actually involved in the kind of student revolution recently visible on Columbia University's campus and others throughout the country.

The Columbia riots represent a special kind of radicalism, namely, violence for the sake of violence; physical force for seizure of power by a small minority trampling on the rights of a huge majority.

On a visit to Venezuela during his second term as vice president Nixon encountered just such an uprising in Caracas as Columbia is finally beginning to cope with. There Nixon and his official party, on a goodwill tour of South American countries, were stoned by rampaging university students, brothers under the skin to those who have paralyzed Columbia.

Because of his personal experience in this incident some years ago, Nixon's analysis of this brand of campus revolution is worthy of noting. His statement follows:

"The educational system in Latin America ranks among the worst in the world. A primary reason is that operating control of many of the universities has passed into the hands of a radical student body. Professors are intimidated and terrorized. Academic standards have collapsed. Academic discipline is almost wholly absent. One after another of the schools I have visited in my travels to Latin America have evolved into hotbeds of activity for political extremists—and educational wastelands for serious students.

"A week ago the specter of radical student control of our great universities began to take shape in the United States.

"The violence and disorders that befell Columbia University marked the first major skirmish in a revolutionary struggle to seize the universities of this country and transform them into sanctuaries for radicals and vehicles for revolutionary political and social goals.

"For both college administrators and student revolutionaries the collision at Columbia was a first test, a baptism of fire, in a struggle for control of the American campus that may only have begun.

"At Columbia buildings were seized and held, professors imprisoned, private files rifled, and a great institution of learning paralyzed and finally shut down. The eyes of the country and the eyes of every potential revolutionary or anarchist on an American campus are focused on Morningside Heights to see how the administration at Columbia deals with a naked attempt to subvert and discredit its authority and to seize its power.

"If that student violence is either rewarded or goes unpunished, then the administration of Columbia University will have guaranteed a new crisis on its own campus—and have invited student coups on half a dozen other campuses around the country.

"We must not allow the Latin university of today to become the prototype of the American university of tomorrow. The way to prevent it is to rid the campus now of any student organization or clique which applauds and uses the type of physical force employed at Columbia. The place to begin is with the anarchic students at Columbia.

"In the ideal, a university is a community of scholars seeking truth; it is a place where reason reigns and the right of dissent is safeguarded and cherished. Force and coercion are wholly alien to that community, and those who employ it have no place there.

"Columbia University is equipped to deal with the arguments of intellect, not with the

arguments of physical force. And those students who calculatedly and deliberately used force to terrorize the academic community there have no place within its walls.

"Academic freedom requires that a university be receptive to new ideas and open to heretics and their views. But academic freedom also dictates that the rationally committed stand up and resist the dictates of the emotionally committed. And academic freedom dictates that those engaged in the pursuit of knowledge and truth actively resist the encroachments of hotheads who assume they know all truth."

Let us transfer this viewpoint from the campus to our society as a whole. The reader will have no doubt that, as President of the United States, Richard M. Nixon, while protecting in every proper way the constitutional right to dissent, would insist upon not only an orderly society but one in which constitutional means would be employed to bring about changes the necessity for which cannot be either successfully denied or rejected.

SUPPORT OF H.R. 89, H.R. 1447, H.R. 2507, AND H.R. 9836

#### HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, until October 1, 1963, retired military officers, who had served 30 years or more could count on the retirement pay of 75 percent of active duty pay. This time honored relationship had been regarded as contractual for over a hundred years. This system ended with the passage of the Uniformed Services Pay Act of 1963, and from then on adjustment in retirement pay was based on the cost of living. However, a few years earlier a glaring injustice was created by the enactment of Public Law 85-422 on June 1, 1958. This act increased the salaries of all active duty personnel but made no provision to increase the retirement pay of officers who had retired prior to June 1, 1958.

Sixty-four months later this breach of faith was recognized and corrected when these officers were awarded an increase in their retirement pay by the Congress to what it rightfully should have been. Nothing was done, however, to compensate these officers for the income they lost from June of 1958 to October of 1963. I fully agree that the ideal way to correct this injustice would be for the Congress to repay these officers the amounts owing them by direct appropriation but such efforts have failed. The Court of Claims has also denied them relief in Andrews against United States, May 13, 1966.

However, less than 30 days later (on June 10, in the case of *Berkey v. U.S.*, 361 F. 2d 983, 987, note 9) the same court held that "military retirement pay has generally not been considered a pension, grant, or gratuity but as something the serviceman earns and has earned." The court also cited in support its own decision in *Lemly* (75 F. Supp. 248) of 18 years before. This same Lemly case was relied upon by a New York district judge in 1960, which held "a pension claim is a gratuity payment which can

be withheld by Congress while a retirement claim is a contractual claim consisting of a continuation of active pay on a reduced basis." (*Jones v. U.S.*, 185 F. Supp. 347, D.C.N.Y. 1960).

Conceivably the legislative measure we now ask could cost approximately three and a half million dollars in uncollected income taxes per year for 6 years. But I seriously doubt that this amount will be required—for by attrition alone the ranks of these gallant old soldiers will thin—and many will never live to see this debt of honor satisfied.

#### THE SURCHARGE, THE GOLD CRISIS, AND FISCAL RESTRAINT

#### HON. FRED B. ROONEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, as you know, we are scheduled to vote next week on the administration's proposed surcharge on corporate and personal income taxes. The Bethlehem, Pa., Globe-Times has advocated that the Congress enact a tax surcharge, coupled with fiscal restraint in Federal spending.

Mr. Speaker, we have been warned by competent fiscal and monetary authorities throughout the world that, unless we strengthen our dollar by eliminating those conditions—inflation and high interest rates—that are weakening its buying power and the worldwide respect it has long held, foreigners would not continue to support the dollar in the future as they had supported it in the past.

As the Globe-Times' editor, John Strohmeier, points out, enactment of the tax surcharge is the only way we can help bring our balance-of-payments deficit to manageable proportions, and strengthen the purchasing power of the dollar to protect the great economic accomplishments that we have achieved during the past 8 years of Democratic administrations.

The editorial follows:

#### THE GOLD CRISIS

The impact of the long-simmering gold crisis is just beginning to hit home. While the wheeling and dealing sometimes appears too involved to understand, the one clear fact emerging from the gold transactions is that the stability of the dollar is at stake.

In a weekend meeting, the United States and six western European countries responded to the gold buying panic by establishing a two-price system. Gold will still sell at \$35 an ounce for transactions between governments while a free-market price will be permitted to fluctuate from day to day.

This artificial brake on gold speculation stalls the crisis for now, but the threat to the dollar is far from over. If this arrangement fails to stabilize the \$35 gold price, devaluation of the dollar would have to follow. Devaluation would be the equivalent of inflation, boosting the prices of everything in terms of dollars.

All other currencies are tied to the anchor of the dollar and the wave of devaluations and dislocations that would ensue could have unhappy results throughout the western world. The Advisory Committee to the U.S. Treasury understated the urgency when it warned that "congress should keep in mind

the grave consequences of inaction to our international trade and financial position."

A substantial tax increase, hitting everybody across the board, is the only real way to bring the mounting U.S. deficit into balance. The Federal Reserve board's boost of the discount rate to five per cent is likely to be more of a palliative than a cure. Furthermore, it is too uneven, putting too great a damper on home building, while permitting other areas of the economy to run unchecked.

Few will doubt that the gold crisis is at least indirectly related to the Vietnamese conflict. Unquestionably, the pressures on the dollar, as on the U.S. balance of payments, would be eased if the war were ended today. However, the war policy is a matter that must be confronted on its own. For now, a bit of austerity is needed. For a nation that has 40 million persons who are overweight (though it also has 40 million who are malnourished) a belt-tightening program at home might be good for our mortal souls as well.

REMARKS OF HON. JAMES M. HANLEY AT CITIZEN OF THE YEAR AWARD DINNER, OSWEGO, N.Y.

HON. ROBERT C. McEWEN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. McEWEN. Mr. Speaker, this past Tuesday, my good friend and colleague, JIM HANLEY, of Syracuse, spoke in Oswego, N.Y., which is located in my district. The occasion for Congressman HANLEY's remarks was a testimonial dinner for one of the most distinguished citizens in my district, Dr. James Grant.

Dr. Grant is the public health officer for Oswego, and in that capacity he has earned the respect and admiration of everyone who has come in contact with him.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to represent a district populated by such fine men as Dr. Grant, and I want to share with you Congressman HANLEY's appropriate remarks about this gentleman, as follows:

REMARKS OF HON. JAMES M. HANLEY, JUNE 4, 1968, AT THE CITIZEN OF THE YEAR AWARD DINNER, JUNIOR CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, OSWEGO, N.Y.

I salute the Junior Chamber of Commerce for having taken the initiative in sponsoring this so meaningful, so deserving program which allows all of this community to in some degree acknowledge the outstanding efforts expended in behalf of it and its people by one of your fellow citizens.

To me it has always provided a great source of joy to participate on a program of this nature. When we take time from our routine pursuits to acknowledge the good deeds of another, it is so refreshing. We know that the public is prone to criticism and has been known to dispense it in rather large doses and in many instances when it was totally unwarranted. On the other hand, when it comes to patting a fellow on the back for a good deed, reluctance seems to prevail for some unknown reason.

But not so in the city of Oswego this evening. You are extending the hand of gratitude in profound appreciation for the works of a truly marvelous gentleman. Tonight, special joy prevails in my heart because I am privileged in enjoying a lifelong friendship with your honored guest. With due respect I must say that to be described as outstanding is really nothing new to him. From my close observation throughout his lifetime

the word, outstanding, and his name have really been synonymous. Outstanding as a young boy, outstanding as a student, outstanding in athletics, outstanding service in our Nation's Armed Forces, outstanding in his profession, and now Oswego's outstanding citizen, my good friend, Dr. Jim Grant.

When I think of that old gang of mine, my thoughts always wander in the direction of Jimmy Grant. I think of St. Lucy's academy where we went to school. I think of the corner drug store where we whittled away many a pleasant hour, and despite the fact that our nation at that time was plagued with economic depression, never would one of the kids think of civil disorder or criminal act. I think of Jimmy's wonderful parents, Lillian and Jim, Sr., both so active in civic and church activities, yet predominant was their parental responsibility to Jim.

In early recognition of his exceptional ability, all who knew him wondered what his role in life would be. Maybe the Holy priesthood and then, perhaps, the first American pope. Or he might have chosen government, and if he had, I am certain that by this time he would have another presidential contender for the forthcoming campaign. Or he might have pursued a military career, and in that instance, I believe that in all probability our nation would have boasted of a second General Grant. Still some thought that he might choose to serve humanity through the practice of medicine, and that he did I am sure that Jim Grant did a great deal of soul searching before arriving at his decision. His most conscientious character dictated a profession which would allow the best possible use of his talent and what more noble profession exists than that of serving the public health. Thus this community is the envy of his native city. Oswego was indeed blessed when he selected it as the locale for his practice. I am sure that all agree.

The individual practicing physician whose special training and insights make them knowledgeable, constitute the most effective public health resources in the nation. This competence, combined with the enthusiasm of dedicated lay leaders in the community is a more effective instrument for public health than the coercive power of government. Where government reinforces this instrument by grants, stimulation and coordination, as needed, the public health thrives.

The physician is a potential leader in any team effort. He takes time to study the public health needs of his community, his county, his State. He can collectively be the most effective public health influence in the Nation. The modern public health movement is really in his hands. He is the central figure in the whole effort.

For such reasons as these, the individual practicing physician takes a professional interest in the progress of the public health of his region, whether or not it affects his practice. Solid waste disposal, water pollution, accident prevention, hospital planning, mental health and rehabilitation centers, air pollution, conservation of recreation areas, industrial hazards, architectural barriers to the handicapped, disaster programs, child health programs, fluoridation, pesticides—all these and many more such problems affect the health climate in which his family and those of his neighbors live. Both as a citizen and as a physician, he has a stake in public health. By supplementing his knowledge in such fields, all of them closely associated with his basic science education, and by working with both the public and private agencies grappling with such problems, he contributes substantially to the betterment of the public health. The activities of his medical society, his voluntary health agencies, his local board of health, and his participation in their projects can actually determine the pattern of the safety and health

of his public. This assures that he really is interested in positive health for the whole man and the whole community.

In former years the solo-practicing physician was represented as essentially the only health resource of the community. To the dispensing of simple remedies, he added kindness and the stature of being one of the few scholarly men in the community. As such he was revered along with the clergy, the local judge, and the school teacher.

Modern society still esteems the physician as one of its most respected citizens. But it sets new standards on the demands it makes on him, both as an individual, and collectively as a profession. He is no longer one of the few intellectuals in town. He is now surrounded by engineers, economists, scientists of many varieties, and trained administrators whose educational preparation is often as advanced and sophisticated as his own. He finds himself cast as a particularly proficient expert among a whole galaxy of experts who compete with him for influence on the course of community affairs. In the process of such competition, he has had to learn to uphold his own professional identity and health skills within an environment made up of skilled specialists in such related fields as social work, sanitation, nursing, insurance, civil and chemical engineering, industrial hygiene and municipal planning. All of these affect both his private medical practice and his leadership in marshalling the health resources of the community in delivering health care to his patients. He is still looked upon as a leader, but those who judge him now include among his skills his ability to furnish services of the other members of the health team as well as his own. His public character as a professional man has become more than ever before that of a coordinator of consultant services. Society has come to measure him almost as much by his socioeconomic community knowhow as by his strict professional skills. This additional burden has been thrust upon him at a time when he has difficulty in keeping up with the volume of new technology welling up among the researchers in his own profession.

Dr. Grant is typical of the physicians who have responded to the challenge of the day. It is dedication and effort such as his which assists the voluntary agencies in their attempts to improve the delivery of health care, especially to the indigent and the disabled. With medicare, title XIX, the heart, cancer and stroke project, and such activities as the poverty and Appalachian regional programs, the Federal Government has entered the field.

Medical societies have a multitude of committees studying these problems. Only thus can the profession influence the direction of change over-all. Wherever the operating agencies, voluntary or governmental, have provided for medical advisory committees in formulating their planning, medicine not only has a voice, but often a vote, in determining the character of change. Otherwise, at any level, professional decisions may be made by planners who lack professional competence, with results that sometimes are disastrous to high quality medical care.

Through voluntary service, the medical profession has many opportunities to keep the community, and the Nation, on a course leading to steady improvement of the public's health. By cooperative support of medical associations, voluntary health agencies, the hospital staff, and health departments, the individual physician can play an important role as a medical citizen. On his willingness to accept this role as a public servant will depend in large measure whether wise decisions in health matters are made in communities, the States and in this Republic.

As that great statesman, the late Governor Al Smith used to say, "Let's look at the record". And in so doing, with respect to Dr. Jim Grant, you as fellow members of this

community, know more so than I of his record of achievements designed to assist the betterments of this community. For example, we point to the new wing of the Oswego community hospital now under construction, and we point further to its pediatric section which I am told is the best in New York State. We point to his efforts with respect to fluoridation. We reflect further on his institution of the training program for new mothers and we could go on and on.

Yes, Dr. Grant has mastered the challenge he assumed when he first came to this community, and knowing him the way I do, I am confident that his future endeavors will even further expand upon his stature for he will continue to contribute most significantly to the best interests of the community of Oswego and all of its people.

I conclude with a hearty salute, a pat on the back, urging that you keep up the good work, and may God bless you.

## THE ONCE-GREAT LAKES

### HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, water pollution is a very present threat to the well-being of the American people and nowhere is that threat more dire than in the Great Lakes area.

The May/June 1968 issue of the National Audubon Society's magazine, Audubon, carries an article on this subject by Mr. Jerry Chiappetta. The article, with its accompanying pictures, very graphically points up the great damage which is being done to the Great Lakes and makes it clear that immediate and substantial antipollution measures must be taken.

So that my colleagues may have an opportunity to be more fully aware of the impact of pollution on the water quality of the Great Lakes, under unanimous consent I include the text of the Audubon article at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

#### GREAT LAKES: GREAT MESS

(By Jerry Chiappetta)

Our Great Lakes, largest body of reasonably fresh water left in the world, hold our greatest natural resources and pose one of our greatest conservation problems.

How long can we keep them great?

In the never-ending struggle for clean water, we tend to write off waters like the Hudson, Monongahela, Ohio and Potomac. But we fall back on the good feeling that "we still have Lakes Superior, Huron, and the rest of those Great Lakes."

For how long? And in what sort of condition?

Some say the Great Lakes are in pretty good shape only because man hasn't had enough time yet to do his inevitable bit to dredge them, alter their currents, fill in their shorelines, dam them and, generally, foul them with his junk, garbage and pollution, making them fit for only sludgeworms and leeches.

From the conservationist's point of view, there's plenty wrong with the Great Lakes. Many others, however, don't feel that way.

This great inland waterway carries more freight in a year than all the Gulf and Pacific ports combined. Through the locks at Sault Ste. Marie at the eastern tip of Lake Superior goes more than twice the freight tonnage in

a year than passes through the Panama Canal.

Freighters, mostly carrying great quantities of grain, flour, iron ore, fish, beer, automobiles, coal, steel, petroleum, wood products, are increasing in size and number.

For the shipper, the Great Lakes are grand. Through the St. Lawrence Seaway, he can reach 2,342 miles into the heartland of the United States and Canada.

But as more and bigger ships come, pollution problems grow. Ship pollution consists of bilge waters, sanitary sewage, garbage (including cargo spillage), oil and whatever else can be tossed overboard. Sailors call this their moonlight disposal technique.

When the sun goes down, the crap goes overboard.

Accidental spills in pumping oil and other liquid cargo to shore continue to cause serious problems at ports and harbors.

According to the Senate Committee on Public Works, "Few ships afloat today, even those of recent design, have any facilities for collection, treatment or disposal of shipboard wastes.

"Laws and harbor regulations are very difficult to enforce," the committee report continued. "Bilges can be pumped at night and many ship captains do not honor the ten-mile limit in this regard . . .

"The Seaway has opened the Great Lakes to 90 percent of the world's commercial vessels. Most of the larger cities fronting on the Great Lakes are planning extensive harbor facilities to attract anticipated increases in commercial shipping.

"The increase in vessel pollution which may accompany this increase in shipping is a matter of considerable concern in the Great Lakes, involving water supplies, recreational beaches and real estate values."

Prior to the Seaway opening, only 130 vessels were plying the Great Lakes. In 1959, the first year of operation, the number of vessels rose to 420, then to around 600 a year later.

Cargo tonnage increased from 87,000 tons at Detroit in 1958 to 264,000 tons in 1959. Other lake ports showed even greater increases. At Duluth-Superior, tonnages rose from 21,400 tons in 1958 to 1,620,000 tons a year later!

Government officials admit the full extent of vessel pollution in the Great Lakes has not been studied fully. They do report that along with the representative tonnage increases, the number of people on ships in the Great Lakes represents untreated sewage from a population of well over 20,000 individuals. And that's conservative.

This does not include pollution from auto ferries and the tremendous number of pleasure boats. On Lake St. Clair alone there are more than 70,000 pleasure craft contributing pollution.

Vessel pollution is brought in here because it is so widespread in the Great Lakes and unique to this inland sea. It is also typical of the magnitude of the Great Lakes and their great problems.

Pollution, and getting at its source, is not always a simple thing—like a community voting on a bond issue to build a sewage treatment plant.

Water use and misuse in the Great Lakes involves eight different states, the United States and Canadian governments, and vessels from many foreign countries.

Some also say the problem of pollution can be solved by dilution. If this were entirely true, then the Great Lakes would remain great for at least a couple more generations anyway.

Consider that this is big water. The combined area of the Great Lakes is 95,120 square miles.

How big is 95,120 square miles?

It is half-again more than the total area of the six New England states. Lake Superior alone is a bit smaller than the entire state

of Maine and a bit larger than the state of South Carolina.

Lake Huron is almost as big as West Virginia.

Lake Michigan is about equal to Maryland, Massachusetts and Delaware put together.

Lake Erie would about cover Vermont, and Lake Ontario would nearly flood New Jersey.

A few other facts need be stated to better understand the big lakes and their big problems. Superior is 1,333 feet deep and covers 31,800 square miles. Lake Michigan is 923 feet deep and 22,400 square miles. Huron is next in depth at 750 feet but it is larger in surface area than Lake Michigan at 23,010 square miles.

Lake Erie is the shallowest at 210 feet—no little pond at that—and covers 9,930 square miles. Baby brother, Lake Ontario, is only 7,520 square miles in size but it is 802 feet deep.

There is another interesting physical fact about the lakes. They're not level.

Row back up to Superior. Its 600 feet above sea level. Superior's water surges into the St. Mary's River to Lake Huron and Lake Michigan, which are 23½ feet lower.

The current continues through Huron into Lake Erie via the St. Clair River, Lake St. Clair and the Detroit River—a drop of another 6½ feet. Lake Michigan, meanwhile, doesn't have the strong current of Huron and the other lakes.

This is important when you examine the pollution problems of Lake Michigan.

Bubbling along now, we find a sort of swirling current in the western basin of Lake Erie which causes what many call "the Dead Sea." They say it is a biological desert where only sludgeworms and leeches reside. The eastern portion of Erie moves a little better until it reaches Niagara Falls, where the water tumbles 326 feet to Lake Ontario.

Power dams along the St. Lawrence River gentle the flow into the Atlantic Ocean.

As any sophomore biologist knows, the flow of water helps purify it. Dogleg-shaped Lake Michigan lazily moves along with little noticeable current. But there is one.

Water enters at the Straits of Mackinac and drifts south along the Wisconsin side and north on the Michigan side. Down in the pocket of the lake, picture a slow swirling current.

It is this same current which carries pollution from Indiana to Illinois. On it, too, rides federal authority to get into the pollution abatement picture.

That little current makes Illinois' pollution "interstate" and that's a magic word in Washington.

But let's not get into the Lake Michigan slime just yet. To better understand these Great Lakes, just a couple more hydraulic facts of life.

Good water is marvelous. It's H<sub>2</sub>O: two parts hydrogen, one part oxygen.

Great Lakes water, like too much water today, is more like H<sub>2</sub>O<sup>10</sup>. This writer's formula for two parts hydrogen, one part oxygen, and ten parts stupidity, greed, neglect and mismanagement.

Even my fourth grade daughter knows water comes from rain. Annually, the average rainfall in the United States is 30 inches. Averages can fool you. Remember the story about the statistician who calculated that the river he wanted to wade across had an average depth of only 2½ feet.

He drowned.

Thirty inches of rainfall is 4,300 billion gallons of water a day. But 75 percent of this evaporates immediately. The remainder is still more than adequate. In this big picture, the Great Lakes basin gets more than its share.

That overall average, by the way, would cover the land with a depth of 2½ feet of water if it stayed on the surface. Out of that national average, consider that Winochee Oxbow in Washington state gets an average

of 150 inches, and Death Valley in California gets 2.03 inches. When Hawaii became a state, the record holder in rainfall became Mount Waialeale on Kauai, the world's rainiest place with an average annual rainfall of 471.68 inches.

That's nearly 40 feet of water!

What this all adds up to is simply that the Great Lakes water basin is about the third richest in water in the United States.

Somebody figured that this wonderful, wet area gets an incredible 21 trillion cubic feet of precipitation in the watershed each year. About 6.5 trillion of this flows out of the St. Lawrence, and most of the remainder is lost by evaporation.

So our problem is not one of quantity, but of quality water at the right place at the right time.

Our shipping friends will point out that quantity is still very important to them. A few years ago when the lake levels were down, they lost millions of dollars because ships couldn't get in and out of certain spots. It was pointed out that a one-inch drop in the water level means 80 to 100 tons less cargo in lake freighters. The lake carriers' association estimated that the capacity was reduced about ten million tons in 1964, and that meant they lost \$19 million in revenue.

This carries us back to the Windy City, which is the biggest user of Lake Michigan water. It takes it supply from deep in Lake Michigan and uses more of the lake water to flush its sewage down the reversed Chicago River sewage canal into the Illinois River, which goes into the Mississippi basin and out of the Great Lakes basin.

Chicago first tapped the lakes at the turn of the century, and in 1909 the U.S. and Canada signed a treaty establishing the International Joint Commission to deal with all matters concerning the flow of these international waters. Chicago was allowed to divert up to 10,000 cubic feet per second of Lake Michigan water.

The same treaty permitted the Canadians to divert 36,000 cubic feet per second and the U.S. another 20,000 cubic feet for generating electric power at Niagara Falls.

Beside the gripes of the shipping interests about Chicago's diversion—which they claim lowers the lake levels each year—the Power Authority of the State of New York complains Chicago's water steal is causing them an annual loss of close to \$2 million for each thousand cubic feet per second diverted. New York says this has resulted in a loss of nearly \$6 million annually; it wants Chicago to cut down the diversion, and put its sewage treatment effluent back into Lake Michigan.

Illinois and Chicago interests claim they're doing Lake Michigan a great service by not putting the effluent back. They claim it would quickly create one large cesspool in the lower lake because of the swirling current mentioned earlier.

Sanitary engineers contend the returning sewage effluent would create excessive algae and weed growth and eventually destroy the lakefront. They also claim the added treatment, cooling, and other factors would cost an additional \$29 million.

In March of 1965, 400 representatives from Illinois, Indiana, the federal government and private industry attended a pollution conference at McCormick Place, called by then Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Anthony J. Celebrezze. It was decided that southern Lake Michigan water was in such poor condition it threatened the health of millions of people who drank it, swam in it, and used it in other ways.

This was not news.

But for the first time, authorities had proof of pollution and who was responsible. Maurice LeBosquete, assistant to the federal chief of water supply and pollution control, laid the cards out faceup in showdown poker fashion.

He identified Indiana industries and municipalities as the chief violators. Studies indicated that all of the streams in the Calumet area were polluted. The Grand Calumet River was worst of all. There was practically nothing alive in the water. The Little Calumet and Calumet rivers and the Indiana Harbor Canal were also severely degraded.

He said there was no dissolved oxygen in the Indiana Harbor Canal, and its waters and banks were covered with oil. Other parts were rust-colored from waste pickle liquor.

Effects of this pollution extended into Lake Michigan.

Officials named the polluters as U.S. Steel Corporation, Gary, Ind.; Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company, East Chicago, Ind.; and Inland Steel Company, East Chicago, Ind.

Three petroleum refineries were also listed as serious polluters. They were Cities Service Oil Company, Sinclair Refining Company, and Mobil Oil Corp., all in East Chicago.

Of these, the worst was Inland Steel, which dumped 480 million gallons daily, or the pollution equivalent of 200,000 people.

These various companies dumped ammonia nitrogen, phenol, cyanide and oils in varying amounts daily. Authorities said all of the plants had invested in waste treatment facilities, but they were either old, inadequate, overloaded, or in some way could not do the job officials felt should be done.

These firms, by a long shot, were not the only offenders. Unfortunately, no degree of treatment will ever make these "trout waters" again, but everyone at the conference appeared eager to get the situation out in the open and do something about it.

No one likes to spend millions and millions of dollars for treatment without being forced to do it.

Water in such industrial areas "is too thick to spoon, too thin to plow."

Murray Stein, chief enforcement officer in the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration which was to be transferred from Health, Education and Welfare to the Department of Interior, told this writer that it was interesting how fast industries and municipalities can find the know-how and the money for water cleanup when the big stick is over their heads.

In fact, Stein said in a speech at the 31st North American Wildlife and Natural Resources Conference in Pittsburgh in 1966, we already have the three elements of success at hand—technical knowledge, money, and enforcement.

"We have enough of these to check pollution and reverse the tide right now," Stein emphasized.

At that Chicago showdown, and at a similar one in Detroit called by the Michigan Water Resources Commission, reporters heard the same whimpers from spokesmen for industries and municipalities. The Michigan commission was setting water quality standards for the lower Detroit River and Lake Erie.

The Water Resources Commission had taken all the alibis it had intended to take and was telling some powerful outfits like Ford Motor Company, and the City of Detroit they had to stop their waste dumping practices. Thirty-one industries and municipalities were put on notice.

As in Chicago, the polluters or their representatives marched in to testify. It sounded like a broken record:

"We can't afford it." "We'll have to move out." "You are unreasonable." "We'll need state and federal aid." "It will take ten years to reach these standards."

It was the same old dirty song and dance. And the Michigan officials had heard it all too many times before. Their official patience had run out.

City of Detroit officials were the first to cry "It can't be done." The Detroit Department of Water Supply serves approximately 38

percent of Michigan's population in Detroit and 49 suburbs. At the time of the showdown notices from the state Water Resources Commission, Detroit was negotiating with twenty additional communities for sewage treatment services.

General Remus, general manager of the Detroit department, told the commission he couldn't see how they could meet the state's high standards for reduction of biochemical oxygen demand and for phenol removal.

"Records show that plenty of dissolved oxygen exists in the (Detroit) river except for a marginal period of a couple of weeks per year," Remus complained.

"The proposed allowable discharge of phenols per day appears unduly restrictive considering that all industry in Detroit and 49 suburbs discharges into the Detroit system. More industry is served by this system than exists in southwest Wayne County including those discharging directly into the river. We therefore request our limitation be no lower than 250 pounds per day by 1970 and 93 pounds per day by 1977."

The Michigan officials weren't buying that.

Remus then threatened that Detroit would have to cancel servicing the suburbs and/or raise rates if the state didn't chip in to pay for the higher treatment costs. Detroit has an old, combined storm and sanitary sewage system. This means that when this water-rich area gets a downpour, the treatment plant must be bypassed and raw, untreated sanitary wastes go directly into the Detroit River and eventually into Lake Erie.

What has happened in Detroit and Michigan is vital to all the Great Lakes, because 41 percent of these waters are within Michigan's boundaries—38,575 square miles. This includes more than 3,000 miles of Great Lakes shoreline.

Looking at it another way, Michigan has 41 percent of the Great Lakes, Ontario has 36 percent, and the other seven states—New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Minnesota—share the remaining 23 percent.

In a few short weeks, the City of Detroit and the others who had been called on the carpet came through and agreed to all Water Resources Commission stipulations to raise standards of sewage treatment.

Just as Murray Stein had said, it was amazing how fast polluters found the money and know-how to clean up when the screws of enforcement agencies were finally tightened! Chicago, like Detroit, has not lost any industry or jobs because of the belated crackdown. Manufacturers—like everyone and everything—need adequate, clean water for survival.

They know it takes anywhere from 17,000 to 65,000 gallons of water to make a ton of finished steel and from seven to 70 gallons of water for a gallon of gasoline. Steel and gasoline are important products for Great Lakes-based manufacturers. It takes 10,000 gallons to make a car. The auto industry uses a quarter of a billion gallons per day, according to the Automobile Manufacturers Association! (73.6% is surface water.)

But let's move up the Great Lakes and consider some other problems of pollution, a word which is defined as: "The presence of substances in water in such quantities and of such quality that the water's value to other users is unreasonably impaired."

The great industrial heartland of America, this Great Lakes country, is leading the way in development of new pollutants. Some of them are not removed from water by conventional forms of treatment in waste disposal or water purification plants. Micropollution is a growing problem.

Phenol, also known as carboric acid, is the base of phenolic wastes produced in several Great Lakes industries, including the manufacture of gas and coke from coal. Since phenolic wastes taste like medicine and smell even worse, their presence in drinking water

evokes immediate complaint. Some people can taste phenols in concentrations of as little as one part in a million parts of water, although a strength of one thousand times greater is still harmless to humans.

The problem with new pollutants is not new but it is one which all agree will get worse as new products and harmful and yet unknown byproducts become realities.

The University of Minnesota Department of Entomology, Fisheries and Wildlife is conducting research now on the problem of water pollution from paper mills. Wood products are big business in the upper Great Lakes country.

The University of Minnesota says wood fibers and paper mill effluents, as well as chemical effluents, may be adversely affecting certain species of young fish. They have discovered that fiber from evergreens is more lethal than aspen fiber and has a greater effect on walleye fingerlings than upon fathead minnows. In addition, mortality of the fingerlings was greater in water containing less dissolved oxygen.

In 1943, pulp and paper companies centered their research efforts in the National Council for Stream Improvement. David C. Knowlton, chairman of the council's board, said the industry's pollution problems reached the critical stage around 1966. Knowlton said there are three factors working in this area: (1) an aroused public determined "to do something"; (2) fears of an ultimate water shortage in large areas of the country; and (3) politicians at all levels of government who have seized on this as a new *cause célèbre*.

As a spokesman for the wood industry, Knowlton emphasized that 75 percent of the paper and paperboard mills had waste treatment facilities in 1964, compared with only 37 percent in 1949.

As a spokesman for clean water, this writer asked, "What about the other 25 percent of the mills with no treatment facilities for their damaging wastes?"

He said it's a matter of money, that in the past 22 years the pulp and paper industry had spent \$165 million on waste treatment facilities and current expenditures are in excess of \$15 million annually.

Wastes from this important Great Lakes industry are measured in biochemical oxygen demand per ton of pulp and paper. In the last 22 years, the BOD has been reduced by 65 percent.

Federal authorities have set a goal of 85 percent reduction in the BOD load and virtually complete removal of the settleable solids.

Knowlton said that to accomplish this, the industry would have to spend a billion dollars without considering future capacity increases. In other words, they would have to spend \$100 million in the next ten years compared with the current annual expenditures of from \$15 to \$20 million.

And this is an industry very big in the Great Lakes and one which needs vast quantities of water to separate cellulose from non-fibrous constituents of the wood. More water is needed to produce paper and paperboard from wood pulp. In addition, the industry requires water for steam generation and cooling.

Paper mill wastes have been found all the way to the outer Apostle Islands in Lake Superior, the cleanest and largest of the Great Lakes.

All the time there is an increasing demand for paper products, resulting in increased pollution despite the gains in treatment and technology. Reclaiming chemicals is not always economical. Most Wisconsin paper mills, for example, are old; to build elaborate treatment facilities would be too costly, according to company representatives.

Stanton Mead, chairman of the executive committee of Consolidated Papers, Inc., is more encouraged than most about reclaiming

chemicals and using byproducts. He was quoted as saying, "Byproducts may someday be bigger than paper-making."

It takes 50,000 gallons of water to process a ton of sulphite pulp, often strained 30 to 40 times through filters costing \$10,000 each. Despite this, some fibers still escape.

Still the work goes on. Charmin Paper Products Company at Green Bay, Wisc., reportedly has spent \$4.5 million since 1955 on pollution control.

It is difficult to expect local residents of a one-industry, paper or pulp mill town to blow the pollution whistle on their only employer. Unfortunately, most of the Great Lakes states don't allocate enough cash to run good, strong, well-manned enforcement agencies.

For example, Wisconsin—considered one of the leading "clean water states"—spends only \$230,000 annually for anti-pollution enforcement. That's about as much as it costs to put one helicopter into combat in Vietnam. Of that quarter of a million dollars, only \$62,000 is from direct state taxes; the remainder is from Uncle Sam and various conservation funds. The Wisconsin Historical Society gets an \$800,000 annual budget!

Authorities in Wisconsin report there is a backlog of \$31 million worth of work needed in sewage plant construction, that old WPA-built sewage plants are now obsolete. The situation is not unique to Wisconsin.

That state has 420 sewage plants, and a third of them provide only primary sewage treatment. This means removal of only 35 percent of the organic wastes.

You cannot consider the condition of the Great Lakes water until you examine the source of it and the condition of that source water. So whatever happens in the states and Canada happens in the Great Lakes also.

The situation in Chicago again is a classic example of the profound economic, social, technical and legal difficulties inherent in pollution abatement. Although Chicago gives secondary treatment, the city pours out an effluent equivalent to the sewage from one million persons and containing solid wastes, suspended and in solution, amounting to 1,800 tons daily.

Skipping back up Lake Michigan, the Metropolitan Milwaukee Sewage District treats its sewage up to 90 percent, one of the best records in Wisconsin. This goes through a relatively new \$10.6 million sewage treatment plant. Yet, South Milwaukee declined to join the sewage district, and it oozes its sewage through an old plant which settles out only 35 percent of the decomposed organic matter. The rest goes directly into Lake Michigan.

Richard C. Klenitz, a reporter for the *Milwaukee Journal*, made an extensive survey of pollution in Milwaukee and Wisconsin and commented:

"Everywhere I went, I found our streams polluted and getting worse. The spreading menace spares no river or lake."

He found that Wisconsin's undermanned water resources staff is able to survey Wisconsin's drainage basins only once in seven years!

Wisconsin Senator Gaylord A. Nelson was quoted as saying: "Lake Michigan is so badly polluted with sewage, oils, chemicals, and iron slag, scientists doubt it can be reclaimed. Yet 27 Wisconsin communities still take their drinking water from Lake Michigan."

Officials described the Milwaukee River as "unsuitable in a practical sense for all common uses." There is now a Milwaukee River Watershed Committee trying to tackle the problems of water use and misuse.

The story there is tragically similar: dams, subdivisions, floodplain destruction, temperature, chemical and other forms of pollution, channels, diversion, and shoreline destruction.

Senator Nelson's remarks about Lake

Michigan could be and have been repeated in spades about "the Dead Sea," Lake Erie.

Back at that wildlife conference in Pittsburgh, outdoor writers asked Murray Stein of the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration what he thought of Lake Erie. He called it a big cesspool.

Stein was optimistic about the general future of water pollution abatement, but said that efforts to save Lake Erie might be too late.

"For almost two centuries man has been dumping wastes of every description into Lake Erie and we may have passed the point of no return," Stein said. Asked about federal water quality standards which were to be set on all waters by June 30, 1967, Stein said there was no use in establishing standards on Lake Erie which would be so high they would never be met.

He said government examiners found western Lake Erie in extremely poor condition. The bottom is covered with decaying organic matter and sludge. Deeper waters in the central and western basins are extremely low in dissolved oxygen. Little if any aquatic life could be found there. This oval-shaped mass of dead water extends roughly from Conneaut, Ohio, westward to Sandusky.

Hearings on pollution were held in 1964 in Cleveland and Buffalo, and recommendations were made to check the lake's pollution.

Stein's comments on goals were puzzling. Regarding Lake Erie, he said there was no use in establishing high "unreachable" water quality standards. Yet, a little later, he was asked about Pennsylvania's clean stream programs.

"You had 3,000 miles of acid-polluted streams when this program began," he said. "How many miles of these streams have you reclaimed?"

He went on to say that conservationists should be satisfied with nothing less than complete stream recovery, and added that this could be accomplished only by stringent enforcement and penalties.

Shortly after Stein made news about Lake Erie, Michigan Attorney General Frank J. Kelley jumped on the antipollution bandwagon by proposing a "crash program" because pollution "is reaching the crisis stage."

"The Detroit River which empties into Lake Erie is polluted beyond reasonable limits," he said.

"It is a sad fact, but nevertheless true, that up to this minute, the State of Michigan has not contributed one red cent of its money nor made use of any of its taxing powers towards helping municipalities in carrying out our water pollution control efforts.

"In the case of municipalities, the entire cost has been borne by them excepting as they are aided by federal grants under the Federal Water Pollution Control Act. In the case of industries, no assistance whatever has been forthcoming.

"I propose that we promulgate and carry out, as quickly as possible, a crash program—a program which will include the lending of the state's financial aid to municipalities so that the cost of construction of sewage control works would be spread on a fair proportion among federal, state and local governments."

Since Kelley made his "crash program" proposal, things have begun to move in the right direction in Michigan.

The state legislature made available several million dollars in grants to municipalities for sewage treatment facilities, to go to local units of government after all federal grants and aids are exhausted.

In addition, Michigan legislators passed a law giving industries tax exemption on "approved" treatment facilities. The State Water Resources Commission must approve the facilities in order for the tax exemption to be granted.

Meanwhile, the last time anyone checked Lake Erie had lost a half-dozen of its 32 rec-

reational and swimming areas because the water was unsafe for humans. The blue pike (walleye) catch had fallen from 20 million pounds in 1937 to only 7,000 pounds in 1960. But overfishing by commercial netters seems just as gully here as the pollution. Ohio has raised the minimum walleye size limit from 13 to 15½ inches to protect these fish. Ontario and Michigan are expected to do the same.

Actually, the death whistle on Lake Erie appears to have been sounded prematurely. The catchy label "Dead Sea" doesn't fit Lake Erie when you consider that in 1964 this so called dead lake yielded 13,354,000 pounds of fish valued at \$1,252,000. This figure comes from the Great Lakes Fishery Commission and concerns only the weight and value of the U.S. catch. In 1964, the commercial catch in United States waters of all five Great Lakes totaled 53,600,000 pounds, and was valued at \$5,424,000.

In most waters, the measure of the fish life is also the best measure of water quality. Great Lakes fishing has had other problems besides pollution: The sea lamprey and the alewife are two.

These are two saltwater invaders which have caused millions of dollars in losses to commercial fishermen and seriously hurt sport fishing.

The sea lamprey story has been reported many times before. Suffice it to report that the lamprey has been beaten back in Lake Superior and put on the run in Lake Michigan to the point that fisheries officials from the United States and Canada are restocking with millions of lake trout, salmon and steelhead (or rainbow) trout. Work in Lake Huron on the lamprey and restoration of the trout is now underway.

Fisheries people are concerned now that the victory over the sea lamprey may be empty in view of the awesome population of small, nearly worthless nuisance fish—the alewives—which had been held in check by large trout. When the lamprey removed the big trout, the alewives skyrocketed in numbers.

Today officials estimate, for example, that 85 to 95 percent of all the fish weight in Lake Michigan is alewives. Commercial fishermen Bob and Paul Peel of Saugatuck told this writer they can net five to six tons of alewives in two six-minute runs with their small fishing boat out in Lake Michigan!

Worthless as human food, alewives are selling for around a penny a pound as pet and mink food. More importantly, farsighted fisheries people like Dr. Wayne H. Tody of the Michigan Conservation Department's Fish Division and former division chief Dr. Howard A. Tanner, now with Michigan State University, want to convert alewives into game fish.

This alchemy will be achieved when fast-growing, alewife-eating coho (or silver) salmon and additional steelhead trout are fully established in the upper Great Lakes.

This is all more than a daydream. Several hundred thousand five- to nine-inch coho salmon were released in Lake Superior and northern Lake Michigan streams in the spring of 1966. Canadians have already released kokanee salmon in upper Lake Huron in hopes of establishing this exotic fish in this region.

Dr. Ralph A. MacMullan, Michigan Conservation Department director, says that pollution is the only factor today which can completely knock out the highly successful coho salmon introduction. In the fall of 1967, fishermen caught amazing salmon of 15 to 20 pounds and bigger in Lake Michigan and in several northwestern Lower Peninsula streams. The successful coho program is being reported as one of the greatest gains in wildlife management in a decade.

Dr. MacMullan is worried now because pesticides are reaching a critical level in the

Great Lakes, especially in Lake Michigan. There is a question, now under study, as to just how much DDT and similar deadly poisons it really takes to make fish sterile.

It is too early now to know for sure where this level is in the salmon's ability to absorb pesticides and still be fit for human consumption or to reproduce.

Another indicator of the quality of any body of water is the wildlife that lives around it. On this score, too, portions of the Great Lakes are sick.

Several years ago, more than 12,000 ducks were killed in the Lake Erie and lower Detroit River marshes by oil pollution.

As far back as 1941, Type C botulism killed wild ducks in the Lake Erie marshes near Monroe, Mich. No other outbreaks were detected until 1961, when several hundred ducks and shorebirds died in Saginaw Bay in Lake Huron. Again it was Type C botulism. More dieoffs occurred in Saginaw Bay in 1962, '63 and '64 and again at the mouth of the lower Detroit River in 1964 and '65. Estimates of losses pegged the dieoffs at several thousand ducks and shorebirds.

On Lake Michigan in 1963, there were unprecedented losses of gulls, loons, grebes and other water birds. Dr. L. Dale Fay, pathologist for the Michigan Conservation Department, reported a second dieoff of birds in 1964 in northern Lake Michigan, from St. Ignace to Wisconsin. Losses that time were pegged at 3,570 loons, 820 gulls, 260 grebes, 240 ducks, and 30 miscellaneous birds.

Then, in 1965, another significant loss occurred among loons, gulls and grebes on Lake Michigan. Dr. Fay said the sick gulls showed symptoms in varying degrees; birds most acutely affected were completely prostrate with their wings limp alongside the body, or outspread, and the head lying on the ground.

"The picture was one of complete helplessness," he said.

Autopsies showed "no evidence of starvation, injury or parasitism" responsible for the mass mortalities.

"What appears to be a significant finding was the occurrence of toxin of Type E botulism in the tissues of a majority of the birds studied."

Fay indicated the birds, or at least most of them, died after eating alewives which washed onto the shore. However, he added, "the means by which loons, grebes and mergansers—which are not known to eat dead fish—get the toxin is totally unexplained."

The fish, the birds, the boats, and the people—always the people—and the pesticides which also affect the health of the Great Lakes are all just pieces in the big puzzle.

No one can accurately measure the health of these five big lakes. General, sweeping statements such as the one about Lake Erie being "a Dead Sea" are misleading.

To say that Chicago can continue draining off water without causing damage to other lake users is foolish. But to what degree is there damage? Is it unreasonable? Who is to determine reasonableness?

Should the lakes be used only as dumping grounds? Should they be restored to their condition in Indian days (if indeed possible) because we want to catch trout off the Chicago docks?

So, who cares about a few gulls? Aren't there to many anyway? Weren't the water and the wildlife put here for man in the first place?

To get some answers is not easy. Senator Nelson wants a Great Lakes Water Authority, along with immediate action by Congress so more federal money will pay for waste treatment facilities. All of this, along with stricter enforcement of existing laws, might do part of the job.

In the final analysis, the trouble with water has been disinterested people, not the

lack of this bill or that or of this matching fund or that.

As Dr. Ira N. Gabrielson, president of the Wildlife Management Institute has said:

"Despite all the fanfare of legislative accomplishment—and there has been major accomplishment—woefully inadequate progress is being made. Pollution abatement is a costly, complex, continuing and unspectacular necessity.

"Its urgency and its virtue are chronically understated until there is a water shortage."

There is no water shortage in the Great Lakes country today in the same sense that shortages exist in the Southwest, and have occurred in the densely populated and very polluted East.

Great Lakes people have been spoiled and slow to learn because they have been water-rich for so long. Water is cheap and plentiful here and people waste it and misuse it.

Fortunately, things are changing. The water is getting dirtier, and people are starting to notice. Maybe that's the way it has to be.

Certainly the trouble with water has been people. These same people, if they really want to, can make it right again.

#### REA ESSAY WINNERS IN NEBRASKA

### HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, this year, as in past years, the Nebraska Rural Electric Association has sponsored a very worthwhile essay contest in which the youth of Nebraska are invited to compete. The topic of the essay contest is "What Rural Electrification Means to Me and My Community." Winning essayists are rewarded by being permitted to participate in a Nebraska youth tour to Washington.

It is always a pleasure for me to include some of the prize-winning essays in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I hope my distinguished colleagues will find the following essays as interesting as I have:

#### WHAT RURAL ELECTRIFICATION MEANS TO ME AND MY COMMUNITY

(By Jean Dvorak, 17, junior, Schuyler High School, daughter of R. C. Dvorak, Schuyler, Nebr.)

(NOTE.—Contestant sponsored by Cornhusker Public Power District, Columbus, Nebraska, in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association.)

I reluctantly turned over in bed and nudged my sister awake. Leaving the warmth of the feather ticks we dressed as quickly as we could. We raced down the cold stairway and into the kitchen to stand by the glowing wood range. Soon we all marched outdoors to do the chores before breakfast.

Outdoors the pale blue sky in the east had a few streaks of yellow and red across the horizon where the sun was about to emerge. While I was pumping water for the house I could see the lantern in the barn and I knew that my Father and brother were milking the cows. I hurried to carry the wood and the water into the house.

The rest of the family came into the house carrying the pails of steaming milk. We sat down to the breakfast that Mother had prepared on the big, black range: home cured bacon, fresh eggs from our henhouse, home made jelly and Mother's own biscuits. The lamplight was dimmed by the rays of the

sunlight that now came streaming in through the window.

Ring . . . . .  
I turned back the electric blanket and reached over to shut off the electric alarm clock. Waking my sister, we began to dress in the warm bedroom heated by electricity. We could smell the bacon which was browning under the broiler and we heard the electric toaster "pop". Water heated by an electric water heater made morning washing a pleasure ever for our brother. Father had listened to weather and market reports as he planned his work for the day. Milking, feeding, mixing, grinding as well as the water supply are all done by electricity on the farms of our community. As we were leaving for school, I remembered the dream I had had about the good old days.

What does rural electrification mean to me and my community? It means the dependable supply of energy which is used for heating, lighting, and power. It means a standard of living comparable to our city cousins'. It means the operation of a farm with the ease and safety of a modern factory. It means that the population as a whole can live better, eat better and for less cost, because of a part that electricity has played in the efficient production of food.

#### THE VALUE OF RURAL ELECTRIFICATION IN OUR HOME AND COMMUNITY

(By Kathy Collins, 16, junior, Elkhorn Valley High School, daughter of Woodrow Collins, Meadow Grove, Nebr.)

(NOTE.—Contestant sponsored by Elkhorn Rural Public Power District, Battle Creek, Nebraska, in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association.)

The light of the world is undimmed by darkness since REA came into being. No one appreciates this light more than the rural people in Nebraska. Not only do we have light but wonderful conveniences to lighten our work load and increase the pleasures of our leisure time.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt established the Rural Electrification Administration in 1935. The REA was made a permanent agency in 1936 by Congress.

Since this time, the REA has not been at a standstill. Its efforts and help have increased with the needs of our growing community and nation.

Loans by Congress to the REA have readily been increased through the years. This has made it possible for a greater number of farmers to take advantage of rural electrification. In the last few years, there has been a 50 per cent increase in kilowatt hours. This is nearly as much as in all the years of the REA combined. Even after this great achievement, the REA still strives for a better rural life.

This struggle for improved conditions in rural areas is shown by the introduction of the security light. This light keeps cattle eating longer for faster gains and has become a great safety factor to the farmer. With the low rate on the security light, it has become a very successful addition to rural electrification.

The value of rural electrification is priceless. Electricity has become one of the greatest dependencies of my rural community as well as others like it across Nebraska and the United States.

Through the efforts of the REA, the value of electrification to my rural area will become even greater. The past 30 years have proved the REA's value to us; and the next 30 years will bring us an even brighter, better future.

Rural electrification in the next 30 years will strive for a balance between the rural and urban areas. The efforts of the REA can answer the desires of rural communities for better schools, hospitals, and water and sewer systems. They can answer the desires for rural jobs by inviting and attracting big companies to small towns, which will create

new payrolls and new capital. In turn, this can mean new opportunity for the communities served by the REA. The fulfillment of these desires can enrich the quality of life in the rural communities and put it on an equal basis with city life.

The value of rural electrification is great, and it has and will create a nation of rural beauty and urban energy as well as a nation of rural energy and urban beauty.

REA is democracy in action from the grass-roots. The directors of the REA are voted for in a free election the same as class officers and club groups elect their leaders to bring good and loyal service to all their patrons.

The power districts and their directors generate business to raise the standards of living and bring about purchasing power for billion-dollar sales in business. This makes it possible for the rural community to live better and grow financially.

All the achievements of the REA in the past years are just the beginning of the advances being made in electricity in fields such as education and medicine. While these things are still far in the future, they will eventually be brought to rural America by the widely reliable, dependent, and low cost Rural Electrification Administration.

#### THE VALUE OF RURAL ELECTRIFICATION IN OUR HOME AND COMMUNITY

(By Keith Rexroth, 17, junior, Sidney High School, son of Robert Rexroth, Sidney, Nebr.)

(NOTE.—Contestant sponsored by Wheatbelt Public Power District, Sidney, Nebraska, in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association.)

What is the first thought that enters our mind when we hear the word electricity? We immediately think of convenience. Electricity has helped to mold and better the lives of people with whom it has come in contact. In some of the more remote areas of the world, however, this development has not yet been established in any significant extent. Although times have been hard for these people, their conditions will steadily improve when electricity becomes rooted in their daily lives.

If we would all just stop to think for a moment, we would get the "big picture" of how difficult it actually was for our ancestors. Imagine the discomfort of getting up on a cold, blustery morning in the dark of winter without any heat in the house because the fire had gone out during the night, perhaps due to a sudden gust of wind penetrating through the house. If electricity were then available as it is today uncertainty would have been avoided.

Today's modern homemaker would be at a tremendous loss without the versatility of electricity. The electric sewing machine would be absent from its otherwise occupied corner of the living room. Thus, sewing would be a more time-consuming process and would prevent the homemaker from having outside interests.

Cooking has been simplified by the electric range. In early times, the only means of cooking man's food was over an open fire. Then as he became more advanced in his culture, he began burning coal and wood in the first stoves, which were simple, harsh devices. Eventually gas came into existence. This was a method much improved over the previous means of cooking. But the greatest discovery of all was yet to come—the discovery of that mighty gift known as electricity. This invention broke the monotony of life.

Electricity not only has proven itself very useful, but it has also provided a source of entertainment for our people, especially our younger generation. Where would today's teenagers be without record players or a hi-fi to furnish music for their many parties and dances? They would be lost. The world would be dull and practically meaningless to them.

Although music is the first thing we think of as a source of entertainment, there are many others. For instance, what would Christmas be without electric lights on the tree, lighted nativity scenes, and lighted ornaments arraying the house? During the Yuletide season, the small child's world is centered around the excitement of coming downstairs on Christmas morning and seeing the brightly lighted, beautifully ornamented tree surrounded by its many gayly bedecked gifts.

Electricity is so important in our daily lives that it would be difficult now, after becoming accustomed to it, to do without it. Electricity has made possible today's radios, television, computers, electric typewriters, household appliances, electric tools, modern heating systems, irrigation systems, and other items too innumerable to mention. When speaking of electricity I'm sure like me, everyone must think of this phrase: "Electricity, what took you so long?"

#### THE VALUE OF RURAL ELECTRIFICATION IN OUR HOME AND COMMUNITY

(By Ruth Darling, 17, junior, Lodgepole High School, daughter of Kenneth Darling, Lodgepole, Nebr.)

(NOTE.—Contestant sponsored by Wheatbelt Public Power District, Sidney, Nebraska, in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association.)

To the people living in the rural areas in 1935, rural electrification created a revolution in American farm life. That year President Roosevelt established the Rural Electrification Administration. Long term, low interest loans were granted to cooperatives to set up local rural electrification distributors. Within 30 years, transmission lines were stretching from coast to coast carrying electricity to 98 per cent of the farms in America.

Today, electricity is progress as it was back in 1935. Progress is the moving ahead to make a better future possible, which is what electricity has provided for rural life. Electricity has added a very essential element into the hands of the farmers. This element could be described as the "power of the switch." This power has greatly increased the profits obtained on the farm. Well-lighted feed yards with automatic mixer-grinding machines and electrically heated waterers account for better and faster gains, making the back-breaking labors of carrying feed or chopping ice unnecessary. This power also provides a very efficient fencing set-up. It takes very little effort to install or remove an electric fence and even less effort to control it. A well equipped electric shop saves costly repair bills. Grain dryers enable the crops to be harvested earlier and stored safely. Electric pumps and irrigation systems save crops during drought and the hot summer days, giving the farmer added income.

With electricity has come a new way of life for the farmer and his family. No longer is it necessary to be awakened by the harsh ring of the alarm or for work and activity to be regulated by sunlight. Electric lights eliminate eye strain and provide a longer day and a brighter night, while the radio and television keeps him informed and entertained. With automatic electric heat the days of shoveling coal, chopping wood, or carrying out ashes are gone. Air conditioners promote much needed rest after long dusty days in the field and equally enjoyable is the sound of music from the timed clock radio for drifting asleep.

Electricity has brought the housewife her fair share of progress with this "power of the switch." She now enjoys the same labor saving devices that earlier only the cities enjoyed. In an electrically heated home, she prepares meals with time-saving and work saving appliances. The automatic dish washer takes care of the daily dishes, while

the automatic washer and dryer relieves the burden of the family wash. She cleans with an electric vacuum or mends with an electric sewing machine. Electricity gives her added leisure to relax, or to devote more time to her family, herself, and her community.

Rural electrification not only benefits the farmers but also makes it possible for the development of industry in the community. Increased job opportunities and a stronger economy are provided in our local area by the Stramit Plant, the Chicken House, the Egging Cab Company, the Pig Mama, and the Chappell Cheese Factory. This promotes progress in our community.

Truly it can be said that electricity has played a tremendous role in developing life as it is today. Electricity not only helps the farmer and the community develop, but it will be the major element promoting it. Yes, electricity is really a progress pusher.

#### GROWTH AND FUTURE OF THE REA PROGRAM

(By Joe Howsden, 16, sophomore, Alma Public School, son of Floyd Howsden, Alma, Nebr.)

(NOTE—Contestant sponsored by Twin Valleys Public Power District, Cambridge, Nebraska, in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association.)

If you drive into any modern, progressive farm yard in the nation, you will see electrical power being utilized to its fullest advantage. For only now has the American farmer realized how efficient and productive electricity can be. Until recently the power use was chiefly for electric lights and appliances in the home, but now the list will extend indefinitely with still more in the future. Now the items are irrigation wells, automated watering systems, automatic feeding and watering of livestock, grain handling systems, etc.

Right now the progress that can be gained from the right use of electricity is unlimited. Presently we are hearing much about how electrical power can improve one's livestock feeding operation. It is said that with a new and modern feeding system, a man's labor and time spent feeding will almost drop to zero. This would give a man more time for recreational activities and more important, time for planning and improving his operation. This is a minor benefit when compared to the great step-up in profits due to the more efficient work accomplished. This will amount to a huge sum, for the electrically powered machines can be made almost completely automatic, even to the point of being better than the farmer himself. Also it is a tireless and noncomplaining worker that knows no time off and charges the same for overtime.

Another field that is flourishing is that of the "all electric home." This is behind schedule due to the past insufficiency of electricity to the rural area, but that has changed. Now the supply is most abundant and the products of which it is used are even more plentiful. Now the trend is changing from just electrically operated appliances to a completely electrically operated home. This is an improvement, for again it is much more efficient for heating, cooling, and lighting the home than are other fuels. In this area, again it is better adapted for keeping the climate within the house livable, than is the occupant himself.

There are many various fields just as broad as the one above and will thus constitute a substantial increase in the use of electricity themselves. These fields vary from electronically controlled devices used in handling livestock, to the use of computers in future farm planning. This can even be stretched to the electric automobile and also an electric tractor of the future. These may seem greatly unreasonable, but are actually on the drawing boards right this minute. This would work in quite well with the present system, for their batteries

would be recharged at night, when the usage is at its ultimate low.

This demand for electrical power will cause REA to grow and flourish, even more than it is now doing. This means more lines to be built and improvements in existing wiring to be made, which is REA's business. Now, electrical utilities are the best investment a person can make, of which a large section comes under the REA jurisdiction.

#### GROWTH AND FUTURE OF THE REA PROGRAM

(By Nancy Patricia Andrews, 17, junior, Holbrook Public School, daughter of Donald H. Andrews, Holbrook, Nebr.)

(NOTE—Contestant sponsored by Twin Valleys Public Power District, Cambridge, Nebr., in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association.)

Electricity is man's "genie" and his wish is its every command. Too often as man journeys throughout life he takes too much for granted as in the case where electricity is concerned. The flip of a lightswitch seldom stirs the mind to remember the vastly interesting history of electricity or to wonder about the future.

When President Franklin D. Roosevelt established the Rural Electrification Administration only 10% of the American farms were served by electricity. Little did he realize that this program would be such a success and result in supplying electric power to over fifty per cent of America's electrified farms.

In Roosevelt's time the vision of the future for technological advancements was vague. If a person would have walked up to the common man at this time and told him that he predicted the use of completely automated dairies with milking machines, cream separators, and milk coolers all controlled automatically by electricity within twenty years, the man would have probably laughed at him.

Nebraskan's are and should be proud that their's is the only state within the United States to have all of her power services owned and operated by the public. This fact alone insures a bright future which will foster new and creative developments for Nebraska in the area of electric power.

It seems that we have perhaps already reached an almost maximum in the possible appliances, farm aids, and luxuries for the midwestern dweller, but the realization that there is much more to come cannot be ignored. Since all of Nebraska's power is controlled by the people not only the farms and rural areas are affected by the R.E.A. Program, but people in all phases of life. Thus, all electrical improvements will be an advancement for the R.E.A. These new steps in progress will include such things as autos, tractors, automatic maids (robots), and picture telephones all controlled by electricity. Some of these items have already been experimented with and are sure to appear.

A look into the future shows us that either directly or indirectly electricity will influence the answers to man's problems. The use of artificial light in large indoor "farms" will be used to speed up the growth of plants. Weather will be moderately controlled by using aircraft to project electric shock waves into clouds to prevent damaging hail storms. Ocean water will be desalted and result in more land under cultivation. The control of insects or viruses destructive to farm crops and to man individually will result from the use of satellites which predict crop infestation and inform the farmer. The constantly increasing population will increase the food shortage, and new foods will be produced from such products as algae or bacteria of yeast.

Thus, the R.E.A. Program has a promising future to look forward to in continuing its work of serving the people, and another name for the Rural Electrification Ad-

ministration might be Reaching Every American.

#### THE VALUE OF RURAL ELECTRIFICATION IN OUR HOME AND COMMUNITY

(By Randell M. Mueller, 16, sophomore, Emerson Hubbard Community School, son of Ardel Mueller, Thurston, Nebr.)

(NOTE—Contestant sponsored by Burt County Public Power District, Tekamah, Nebr., in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association.)

"How valuable is Rural Electrification in my home and community" is like asking, "How big is a mountain or how bright is a star?"

Rural Electrification provides water for our home and farmstead. Research has proven because of a constant water supply for drinking, bathing, and better laundry facilities, our health is greatly improved. It is also proven to be a profit-builder for our livestock, besides being a moral booster to see clean cars and green lawns in the rural area.

Rural electricity brings year round controlled climate to our home. Can value be placed on a night's rest for an asthmatic hayfever sufferer? This comfort is provided by electric air conditioning in summer and humidifier in water.

Try to value the comfort of a warm room and colored TV as a January blizzard is raging just a few feet away.

Can one measure the value of the growth in new born pigs as they nestle under electric heat during subzero weather or lay stretched out in front of fans on hot humid summer days?

Remember the scoop shovel and belt operated grinders? Now place a value on that electric grinder and electric elevator. While pondering this, how valuable is the dusk to dawn lighting used in livestock houses, as well as to quiet newly purchased livestock out in the yards?

The time of waiting for daylight to check sick animals is past. Medication is as easily administered at midnight under electric lights as at noon.

What is the value of the pride in a farmer's eyes as he looks over a green field of corn being moistened by an electric powered irrigation system when near by wilted cornfields must stand waiting for rain that may not come?

Farm machinery has the fallacy of breaking down just as the town shop closes at 6:00, but with farmer owned electric welders, drills, sharpeners, air compressors and other power tools, repairs can be made in the farm shop, and often in a matter of minutes the machine is returned to the field instead of waiting for the 7:00 opening next morning. Who can place the value on convenience?

Farm buildings are in constant need of some type of repair. The efficient electric saws, wrenches, and paint sprayers cannot be measured by a dollar sign, but it shows in a more beautiful rural America.

With the farm price squeeze becoming tighter each year, Rural Electrification becomes even more valuable, replacing high priced labor with low priced Rural Electricity. It allows farmers to efficiently handle more livestock and irrigate more acres while living healthier, more comfortable lives.

#### COLUMBUS DAY: NATIONAL HOLIDAY

HON. JOHN W. WYDLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. WYDLER. Mr. Speaker, on rollcall vote No. 130, on the 9th day of May 1968,

I was unavoidably absent and could not vote due to a previous congressional commitment. The bill involved was H.R. 15951 and provided for uniform annual observances of certain legal public holidays on Mondays. It also established Columbus Day as a legal holiday, to be celebrated every year on the second Monday in October. The bill passed the House by a vote of 212 to 83. If I had been present I would certainly have supported the bill since I was one of the original sponsors of legislation to make Columbus Day a National holiday. I will do all in my power to see that this bill is acted on in the Senate and that it becomes the law of the land.

THE LATE ROBERT F. KENNEDY

### HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, as a friend of the Kennedys, both Senator ROBERT KENNEDY of New York and his brother, our late President John Kennedy, I feel a particular loss at the violent death of Senator KENNEDY. I share in the grief of his wife, children, and family and express to them my deepest sympathy.

This act of violence which cut down one of America's leading statesmen in the middle of an outstanding career is but the most recent example of the hatred and violence which exists in the world and in this country. Lawlessness, violence, disorder increasingly seem to be the rule, rather than the exception. At all levels, both personal and governmental, we must rededicate ourselves to the elimination of the environmental causes and the personal causes which give rise to these horrible acts of violence.

I have no illusions that laws will totally eradicate lawlessness, disorder, and violence, but they can go a long way toward minimizing them. Our people cannot live in fear and disorder. Legislation must be enacted to minimize the opportunity for insane people, incompetents, and others in that category to easily obtain any and all kinds of guns. Something must be done about reconciling the constitutional right to bear arms and the more basic right of each citizen to be safe on the streets and in his home. Action is needed, both in terms of legislation at the Federal level and by efforts at the State and local level, but, above all, by individuals themselves.

In the final analysis, however, while we may deal with the environmental problems which give rise to grievances and frustrations through legislation and we may pass laws which would attempt to eliminate poverty, provide better housing, provide for the sick and the elderly, and to correct the social injustices which do exist in our society; in the final analysis, we are talking about what is in the heart and in the mind and in the spirit of individuals. Hatred, bitterness, and violence will never be legislated out of existence. Each American must look into his own heart to recognize and to at-

tempt to deal with the hatred, bitter disagreement, and frustrations which give rise to irrational acts.

In addition, we do need a national assessment of the underlying causes of human behavior which have created not only the most affluent Nation, the most educated Nation in the world but also one of the most violent. We are able to go to the moon, to transplant hearts, and yet we know little about human behavior and the ability of men to live together as brothers. We will never make a satisfactory effort in this regard until we have brought to bear on this subject the very best individual, scientific, and spiritual effort in our country. Accordingly, I strongly support the efforts of President Johnson in the naming of a Presidential commission to deal with this. I will have further legislative recommendations along this line very shortly.

A BILL TO ESTABLISH A JOINT UNDERWRITING ASSOCIATION IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA TO PROVIDE FIRE, EXTENDED COVERAGE, AND ESSENTIAL PROPERTY INSURANCE

### HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, the President's National Advisory Panel on Insurance in Riot-Affected Areas has stated that insurance is essential to revitalize our cities. It stated that:

It is a cornerstone of credit. Without insurance, banks and other financial institutions will not—and cannot—make loans. New housing cannot be constructed, and existing housing cannot be repaired. New business cannot be opened, and existing businesses cannot expand, or even survive.

Without insurance, buildings are left to deteriorate; services, goods, and jobs diminish. Efforts to rebuild our nation's inner cities cannot move forward. Communities without insurance are communities without hope.

The District of Columbia businessmen must have insurance to protect the security of their premises and operations of their businesses so that they can continue to serve all sections of society. Because of this, on June 3, I introduced a bill, H.R. 17607, to establish a joint underwriting association to provide fire, extended coverage, and essential property insurance in the District of Columbia.

I feel that this type of insurance is badly needed in the District of Columbia if businessmen are to remain in business. Insurance is a critical link in the chain of production and distribution as products move from factories to the Nation's shopkeepers and eventually to the consumer.

My bill makes it definite that insurance coverage will be offered to provide against such everyday crimes as holdups and robberies, as well as malicious mischief and vandalism, burglary and theft. It will relieve the daily burden that criminal activity has placed upon the small businessman. The small businessman is crying for this type of insurance, which is now un-

available, and yet without it, it is impossible to remain in business.

In recent testimony before the Subcommittee on Business and Commerce of the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia, Hilliard Schulberg, executive director of the Washington, D.C., Retail Liquor Dealers Association, said:

In the past two and a half years, six members of our local retail industry have been murdered. There have been over 500 holdups, and an unbelievable number of burglaries, larcenies, acts of pilferage and other types of vandalism.

Last year's disasters in Newark and Detroit and the criminal reign of terror which is still rampant in the District and in many metropolitan areas have focused attention on a problem common to all our cities, a problem which is more threatening than violence itself. This problem is the fear that past violence has created. Even where there is a modicum of control over criminal activity, the fear that violence might break loose becomes a clear and present danger to continued existence of normal neighborhood business.

We believe you will agree that maintaining insurance against fire, casualty, holdups, thefts, window-breakings, is as elementary a part of the cost of doing business as is hiring labor, buying merchandise or paying rent. And like every other cost of doing business, it is passed on to the ultimate consumer as part of the cost of living. But because of the chaotic conditions in our cities, the cost of insuring stores and the goods in them is going up astronomically.

These higher costs for insurance to storekeepers, and the resultant higher prices for their customers, are not the entire problem. We may well be facing a situation in which insurance is not to be had at any price. Indeed, this is a condition that now exists in many communities. In such situations there is a great incentive for local merchants simply to take their beatings and close their doors. The economic consequences to the community in such situations are obvious.

Adequate insurance at a reasonable cost, it is thus apparent, is crucial; it is vital. No one can risk being in business without it. Big business won't and small business cannot.

The bill which I have introduced is consistent with the pending Federal insurance measures and would be buttressed by them. It has adopted a balanced and moderate approach, and it is fair both to property owners insuring through the pool and to those insuring in the normal market. It is not unnecessarily disruptive of the private insurance mechanisms and may in the long run create a new demand for other types of insurance from citizens who will be living in stabilized and improving communities, who have a future to look to and wish to protect it.

I hope that my colleagues will realize the importance of this legislation and act favorably on it.

CONGRESSMAN BASIL WHITENER  
ADDRESSES NORTH CAROLINA  
DEMOCRATS

### HON. ROY A. TAYLOR

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, earlier today, my colleague, the gentleman from

North Carolina, BASIL L. WHITENER, delivered an inspiring keynote address to the North Carolina Democratic Convention in Raleigh. I recommend that address, which follows for the consideration of other Members of Congress:

Mr. Chairman, Governor Moore, Members of the Council of State, distinguished guests, fellow Democrats, it is a distinct honor and a high privilege to address this assemblage of North Carolinians who are dedicated to the precepts and principles of our great Democratic Party.

North Carolina is one of the foremost states of the Union. She enjoys an enviable reputation among her sister states. Tar Heels, regardless of political affiliation, are justly proud of the splendid accomplishments of their State.

Democrats, quite properly, have a special pride in North Carolina. This is because the leadership of our Party in State affairs has been the prime factor in the preeminence of our State in the family of commonwealths.

Every student in North Carolina knows the proud motto of our State—"Esse Quam Videri"—To Be Better Than To Seem. The philosophy, traditions, and accomplishments of the Democratic Party truly and accurately give life and meaning to the motto of our State.

The Democratic Party has not been content to merely exist. It has furnished the ideas, the programs, and the leadership which have given us a prosperous, progressive, and proud people.

There are those who are going about condemning our State, the Democratic Party, and its leadership. They display a callous disregard of history. The objective observer will proclaim that the magnificent record of social, educational, and industrial progress made during the past 68 years has been due primarily to the devoted and productive service of Democratic leaders.

An awareness of North Carolina's record of achievement under Democratic governors since 1900 comes to each of us by a mere call of their names. No other state can boast of such an array of leadership as we have had from Charles Brantley Aycock of Wayne, R. B. (Bob) Glenn of Forsyth, W. W. Kitchin of Person, Locke Craig of Buncombe, Thomas W. Bickett of Franklin, Cameron Morrison of Mecklenburg, Angus W. McLean of Robeson, O. Max Gardner of Cleveland, J. C. B. Ehringhaus of Pasquotank, Clyde R. Hoey of Cleveland, J. Melville Broughton of Wake, R. Gregg Cherry of Gaston, W. Kerr Scott of Alamance, William B. Umstead of Durham, Luther H. Hodges of Rockingham, Terry Sanford of Cumberland, and Dan K. Moore of Haywood.

These magnificent Democratic leaders encouraged, supported, and administered programs which strengthened our State in education, industry, highway development, treatment and care of the infirm and retarded, ports development, recreation, and every other facet of proper government service to our people. They have given us fiscal management and government organization of the highest order.

The support of Democratic members of the General Assembly made it possible for these able Democratic governors to constantly move North Carolina forward in the mainstream of progress.

During the past 8 years the administrations of Terry Sanford and Dan K. Moore have given new impetus to the attainment of quality education at all levels of education in our State. Historians will record that these two dynamic leaders of the Tar Heel State, through their zeal for education and economic development, will have the appreciation of generations yet unborn.

The same historians will take note of the brilliant service of Governors Scott, Umstead, and Broughton in the Senate of the United

States. Their effective leadership in that body is recognized and appreciated by all North Carolinians.

North Carolina Democrats at the state and national level continue to reflect great credit upon the Democratic Party and the people they so ably serve.

In the Congress of the United States the interests of North Carolinians are capably served by our Democratic Congressional Delegation.

In the Senate, Senator Sam J. Ervin, Jr., and Senator B. Everett Jordan give dedicated leadership on the Committees on Armed Services, Government Operations, Judiciary, Rules and Administration, Agriculture and Forestry, Public Works, the Joint Committee on the Library, and the Joint Committee on Printing.

In the House of Representatives, Representatives Walter B. Jones, L. H. Fountain, David N. Henderson, Nick Galfianakis, Horace R. Kornegay, Alton A. Lennon, Roy A. Taylor, and I serve on the Committees on Agriculture, Merchant Marine and Fisheries, Foreign Affairs, Government Operations, Post Office and Civil Service, Public Works, Banking and Currency, Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Veterans Affairs, Armed Services, Interior and Insular Affairs, Judiciary, and the District of Columbia.

Each member of your Democratic Congressional Delegation is working diligently to enable our government to operate and function more efficiently, within the framework of the Constitution, in resolving the domestic and international issues which confront our nation.

North Carolinians who believe in the principles of sound constitutional government know that they will best be served by protecting the valuable seniority which enables their representatives in Washington to attain positions of even greater opportunity in making national decisions. Those who believe in the basic tenets of Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson will best serve their philosophy through the preservation of the type of representation which North Carolina Democrats are giving them in Washington.

By their legislative voting records your Democratic Delegation in Congress has exemplified the definition of a Democrat given by the revered Charles B. Aycock, when he said:

"A Democrat is a man who believes that our national government has the powers which were granted to it in the Constitution—and none other. A Democrat is a man who believes that the powers not granted to the national government in the Constitution of the United States are reserved to the people or to the States. A Democrat is a man who believes that the power of taxation is the power to destroy and that this power was never vested in any Government by a free people except to defray the expenses of the Government economically administered. A Democrat is a man who believes in the individual and thinks that his rights ought not to be restricted in any respect save only so far as is essential to the peace and progress of his neighbors. A Democrat believes in order to be responsive to the quick demands of the people the Government should be as close to the people as it is possible to bring it. A Democrat believes that when you have centralized your Government and made it strong and put it far away from the people, that the great mass of the people can't put their hands upon that Government and enforce the will of the multitude."

Aycock's definition of a Democrat is as true today as it was at the time it was uttered.

Democrats frequently disagree with other Democrats. These disagreements must not be permitted to destroy the instrument of service which has meant so much to our people. We must adopt the philosophy of the renowned Zeb Vance, who said: "We have our differences and dissensions in the Democratic

Party, but we will settle them inside the church and without calling on the ungodly."

It would be unrealistic for me to assert that the Democratic Party is without problems as we approach the coming election. The same sense of realism leads me to the conclusion that these problems can be dissolved by individual Democrats proclaiming the record and stating the facts of history with reference to our great Party.

The Democratic Party is not the party of the right or the left. It is the party of all the people. It is the party in which all Americans can unite on the middle ground as we seek to build a greater nation. There is room in this party for the liberals, moderates, conservatives and all sincere elements who wish to move forward in this State and Nation.

We know no class, creed, nor "border, nor breed, nor birth". The people who make up our party come from all sections of the Nation and represent all segments of political thought.

Truly, ours is the party of all the people and all sections of our great Nation.

I am proud of the traditions of the Democratic Party. Under its banner we have advanced the cause of the underprivileged and have carried a torch of hope for the typical American. We appeal to the elderly; yet we challenge the imagination of the youth.

In every section of our great land we have welcomed conservatives, liberals, and moderates. Out of this crucible of ideas and philosophies we have fashioned our goals of good government and leadership in these United States.

Democrats have been at the helm of our nation in war and in peace. In peace we have led our nation on the road to higher standards of living, greater prosperity, and more personal income for those who labor in the vineyard.

In time of war we have furnished the leadership and courage which eliminated the ambitions of the imperialistic Kaiser Wilhelm, the raving Hitler, and the Axis war lords.

Our nation has always met and mastered challenges to freedom. We have succeeded because courageous men have been willing to risk their lives. Braver men have never lived than those who carry our colors today in Southeast Asia. Under the leadership of our Commander-in-Chief they are holding high the Flag of our Nation on the bloody soil of South Viet Nam.

In this all-important effort our President has set the goal for us and has reminded us of our basic heritage. He has pointed the way toward an honorable settlement in Southeast Asia.

For anyone to undermine this course of action at this critical time would be extremely harmful to our country and our free way of life for many years to come. All Americans, therefore, regardless of political party, should firmly resolve to uphold a position of unity at home, peace with honor abroad, and to fully support the 500,000 young Americans whose courage and devotion in Southeast Asia will forever be an inspiration to their countrymen.

Let us look at some of the results on the domestic scene of the leadership of John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson in our national government since 1961.

5.8 million undergraduate students attend college today.

1.5 million of our college students are in college because of programs sponsored by Democrats.

2.9 million adults participate in vocational education courses.

9 million educationally deprived boys and girls are benefiting under special educational programs.

700,000 veterans have received job training and higher education under the GI Bill. Almost 400,000 of these veterans are in training today.

42 million children have been vaccinated against diphtheria, measles, polio, tetanus, and whooping cough in the past 4 years.

150 mental retardation clinics are serving the needs of 43,000 persons.

265 community mental health centers have been funded in areas serving 57 million people.

The gross income of the American people has risen to \$558 billion, an increase of 35 percent in the past 4 years.

The Gross National Product is more than \$805 billion.

Total employment has increased by more than 6 million workers during the past 4 years.

Corporate profits, after taxes, have increased 93 percent in the past 4 years.

20 million children receive at least one hot meal a day through the school lunch program.

3 million Americans in small cities and towns have received the benefit of \$573 million expended for water and sewerage facilities during the past 4 years.

5.5 million rural residents have received benefits under Farmers Home Administration programs.

2.2 million rural subscribers have received new and improved service through the REA telephone system.

2 million farmers in over 3,000 soil conservation districts have received guidance and assistance in soil and water conservation practices.

More than 48 million small businessmen have participated in the Small Business Administration loan program.

Thousands of students have benefited under the National Defense Education Act and other programs for the assistance of worthy students in our institutions of higher learning.

Millions of elderly Americans have had their lot in life improved through enlightened amendments to our Social Security Program and the modernization of our veterans benefits structure.

Regional medical centers are now being established to combat many of the dread diseases which have taken their toll of Americans for generations.

The Appalachian Regional Development Program has brought new hope to millions of our people living in the economically depressed mountainous regions.

The economic interests of our farm people have been served through programs of soil conservation, marketing procedures, and sound legislation.

The American worker receives the largest pay check and works under the most favorable conditions ever experienced by labor anywhere.

American military personnel receive the highest compensation and the finest equipment ever provided to the fighting men of any nation.

Those are more than dull statistics. They are an incontrovertible confirmation of the continuing record of progress under Democratic administrations. I have heard none of the critics of our Party contend that they would repeal these great legislative attainments.

These gains by the people, under the forceful leadership of John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson, will be ratified by the American people when they return our Party to national leadership in November of this year.

Here in North Carolina under the able leadership of Governor Dan K. Moore, and with the cooperation of a Democratic General Assembly, our Party is maintaining its characteristically brilliant level of service to our people. The record of progress on the national level has been paralleled here in the government of North Carolina.

The complex problem of social and economic change now occurring throughout the land has been met with deliberation and determination in North Carolina.

The State's economy continues to expand. Our 5 million people are sharing in the nation's abundance. Non-farm employment has reached a record high. Wages and salaries have continued to climb. The per capita income of our people is increasing substantially.

Under Democratic leadership North Carolina has practiced fiscal responsibility. We are proud of the financial integrity of North Carolina. We have an exceedingly low public debt, and our credit rating is unexcelled in the nation. The State's budget of almost 3 billion dollars is being wisely utilized for services which benefit every North Carolina family.

For 68 years the people of North Carolina have reposed their trust and confidence in the leadership of the Democratic Party. In return they have been given sound and progressive government. The State has grown and prospered. Every North Carolinian has shared the benefits of Democratic leadership.

At this critical stage in the history of our State, Nation, and indeed the world, it is essential that there be a unity of purpose for the common good. Every American, regardless of race, creed, national origin, or political party, should reaffirm his basic faith and trust in the great principles upon which our Nation was founded and has prospered. These principles have sustained our society down through the years. They have stood the test of time.

Our State is passing through a difficult period. In the exercise of the duties of his office Governor Dan K. Moore has exemplified the finest traditions of the Democratic Party. He and his associates in government are insuring that every person in this State shall have equal justice under law and shall be secure in their persons and property. All North Carolinians can be proud of the forthright approach of his administration in providing this high standard of executive performance.

During this year of decision by the people of our State our Party must move forward with its traditional confidence and faith in the individual and his ability to discern the right course.

We must rededicate ourselves to the preservation of human and property rights and the maintenance of a strong sense of individual responsibility.

For our democracy to survive it must be a self-disciplined democracy—one of restraint and with respect for law and order. We are charged with the responsibility of preserving liberty and freedom for generations yet unborn. That is the task for each of us.

We can move forward in North Carolina only with a sound program under the direction of dynamic leadership. The past record and the new platform of the Democratic Party in our State provide that sound program.

The nominees of our Party, headed by Bob Scott—our next governor—will provide the dynamic leadership during the next 4 years. We can all safely place our trust and confidence in Bob Scott and the nominees of our Party throughout the Tar Heel State.

Let us today resolve to carry the Democratic message of Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson, Woodrow Wilson, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Charles B. Aycock, and Zebulon B. Vance to the people in every section of every county in our commonwealth.

Let us proudly proclaim the merits of our Democratic candidates and the proven principles which will guide them in serving all the people of our proud State.

## THE RULING IS 7-PLUS MILLION TO 1 IN FAVOR OF ACTION BY THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

**HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK**

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, now that the Supreme Court has ruled by a decisive margin of 7 to 1 on the burning of draft cards, the Congress and the American people hopefully can expect the Attorney General to initiate action against others who have violated the law.

The vacillation by the Attorney General should now come to an immediate halt. Benefit of doubt and the fullest extents of the law have run their course. Action is the next step and it should be taken.

I include in the RECORD today two articles. One is a front-page story from the Baltimore Sun, by Oswald Johnston, on the Court's decision. The second is a release issued by the commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars calling on Attorney General Clark to give "early indication of the intentions of the Department of Justice with respect to the prosecution of the literally hundreds of draft card violations on which no legal action has been taken."

The failure of General Clark to act against militant extremists, to forward cases to the Subversive Activities Control Board, to act in cases of questionable union practices, in the wake of rioting, and other areas should not be compounded by failure to act following the Supreme Court's decision.

The articles follow:

### VFW LEADER URGES ATTORNEY GENERAL TO PUNISH DRAFT CARD MUTILATORS

WASHINGTON, D.C., June 5.—The Commander-in-Chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, has called on the Attorney General to "move with vigor and dispatch to institute criminal proceedings against all those who . . . willfully burn or otherwise mutilate their draft cards."

Joseph A. Scerra, of Gardner, Mass., commended the Supreme Court "for its recent decision ruling that the Federal Government has the right to punish those who burn, or otherwise knowingly mutilate their draft cards."

In a letter to Attorney General Ramsey W. Clark, Scerra asked for an "early indication of the intentions of the Department of Justice with respect to the prosecution of the literally hundreds of draft card violations on which no legal action has been taken."

"I can see no reason why the Attorney General has waited so long to deal firmly with those willfully destroying their draft cards," the V.F.W. Commander said. "There are hundreds of such cases known to the Justice Department, as well as cases of men who incite the young men of our nation to denounce their obligation to the nation as a whole. I certainly hope that those who burn and mutilate their draft cards, those who defile Selective Service Records and those who counsel draft evasion will be summarily dealt with by the government, which, as the Supreme Court has upheld, has laws on the books to indict under such cases."

In writing the Attorney General, Scerra said: "We have every confidence that our fighting men in Vietnam were heartened by

the news of this historic decision of the Supreme Court. Most assuredly, unpatriotic demonstrations against our Nation's efforts in Southeast Asia, draft card burnings, and other overt acts of defiance of laws imposing military service obligations have been discouraging to those bearing the risks and burdens of battle in Vietnam and have adversely affected their morale."

The V.F.W. leader said that "Justice and equity for the many patriotic Americans giving their lives in the cause of our Country demand . . . immediate and forceful application of justice against all who break the laws of our Nation."

#### DRAFT-CARD DESTRUCTION LAW UPHELD—DOUGLAS DISSENT URGES JUSTICES TO CONSIDER VIET WAR'S LEGALITY

(By Oswald Johnston)

WASHINGTON, May 27.—The Supreme Court upheld today by a decisive margin a 1965 law making it a Federal crime to burn or mutilate a draft card.

Chief Justice Earl Warren, speaking for a 7-to-1 majority, vigorously rejected the claim that burning a draft card to protest the Vietnam war is an act of "symbolic speech" that ought to be protected by the First Amendment.

#### HELD IN CONGRESS'S POWER

The act by which Congress made such an action a criminal offense under the draft laws is fully within the constitutional powers of Congress "to raise and support armies," Warren ruled.

Justice William O. Douglas, the sole dissenter, made no attempt to argue that burning a draft card is a form of expression protected by the First Amendment. Instead, he declared that the legality of the Vietnam war is itself not clear and ought to be aired in court.

The dissent was one of those opinions in which Douglas, as a minority of one, strongly urged the Court to decide whether young men can be drafted in peacetime. Congress, he has pointed out, has never declared war on North Vietnam.

#### WE OWE . . . AN ANSWER

"I think we owe to those who are being marched off to jail for maintaining that a declaration of war is essential for conscription an answer to this important undecided constitutional question," Douglas said.

In ruling that card-burning is not constitutionally protected speech, Warren also rejected a claim that the main purpose of Congress in passing the law was to suppress anti-war dissent.

"It is a familiar principle of constitutional law that this Court will not strike down an otherwise constitutional statute on the basis of an alleged legislative motive," the Chief Justice declared.

In a brief concurring statement, Justice John M. Harlan, the Court's most consistent conservative, observed that, in his opinion, the draft-card case before the Court raised no significant free-speech issue. The defendant, he pointed out, "manifestly could have conveyed his message in many ways other than by burning his draft card."

#### MARSHALL NOT PARTICIPATING

The five other members of the majority joined Warren's opinion in silence. Justice Thurgood Marshall, the former Solicitor General, took no part in the case.

The issue came before the Court after David Paul O'Brien, a Boston University sophomore who burned his draft card two years ago, convinced the First Circuit Court of Appeals that the card-burning law was an unconstitutional suppression of anti-war dissent. He had been sentenced to up to six years under the Youth Corrections Act.

The Justice Department which has successfully defended the statute in the Second

Circuit in a New York case and in the Eighth Circuit in an Iowa case, appealed to the Supreme Court.

#### RESULT EXPECTED

Today's result reversing the First Circuit ruling and reinstating O'Brien's conviction, was expected.

During oral argument in the case last January, the justices listened with an apparently unanimous lack of sympathy as O'Brien's American Civil Liberties Union lawyer attempted to brand the card-burning law a congressional "act of hysteria."

Erwin N. Griswold, the Solicitor General, argued sternly for the United States that the statute is fully within the range of acts Congress can outlaw as disruptive of the Selective Service system.

Douglas, the dissenter in the case, was absent during that argument, and the majority ruling today gave full backing to everything Griswold urged.

#### LIKENED TO DRIVER LICENSE

"A law prohibiting destruction of Selective Service certificates no more abridges free speech on its face than a motor vehicle law prohibiting the destruction of drivers' licenses, or a tax law prohibiting the destruction of books and records," Warren wrote.

"We cannot accept the view that an apparently limitless variety of conduct can be labeled 'speech' whenever the person engaging in the conduct intends thereby to express an idea."

The decision, while no surprise in its broad outlines, could have unexpected effect on the Boston trial, now in progress, of Dr. Benjamin Spock, the Rev. William Sloane Coffin, Jr., and three other defendants indicted for conspiring to hinder the draft.

#### NATIONWIDE CAMPAIGN

The key to the Spock-Coffin "conspiracy," according to the Government, has been a nationwide campaign to convince youths to return or abandon draft cards. Accordingly an expected defense maneuver is the argument that the cards serve no serious function and cannot legitimately be made the subject of draft-board regulation.

Last February, defense lawyers in the case took the unusual step of asking the justices to withhold decision on that point when they ruled in the draft-card-burning case.

In a brief unsigned order today, the justices denied the Spock-Coffin motion to file a brief in the O'Brien case. And in his opinion, Warren spelled out in detail several ways in which draft cards are of administrative use.

#### MANY FUNCTIONS

The many functions performed by Selective Service certificates establish beyond doubt that Congress has a legitimate and substantial interest in preventing their wanton and unrestrained destruction," Warren declared.

The other cases that today provoked Douglas to dissent all involved draft-board actions which were unsuccessfully challenged in lower courts.

In two, both involving Jehovah's Witnesses, the question of a "peacetime draft" was directly raised. Both men face jail sentences for refusing to report for civilian work as conscientious objectors. The high court refused to review their convictions.

In his other dissent Douglas argued that the accelerated induction of two "delinquent" war protesters should be delayed until the legality of punitive inductions is fully resolved.

#### OPPOSES PENALTIES

"I am unable to see any place in our constitutional system for Selective Service delinquency regulations employed to penalize or deter exercise of First Amendment rights," Douglas said.

"The First Amendment means that what-

ever speech or protest a person makes, he may not, I submit, be taken by the neck by the Government and subjected to punishment, penalties, or inconveniences for making it."

#### WASHINGTON REPORT

### HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks I wish to insert the following newsletter in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

WASHINGTON REPORT, JUNE 1968

(By Congressman WILLIAM E. MINSHALL, 23d District, Ohio)

"The whole world is following us with attention," said North Vietnam's negotiator Xuan Thuy as peace talks began in Paris. Global attention is riveted on Hanoi's actions, not only at the conference table, where its polemics are subverting progress, but also in South Vietnam. There Hanoi's stepped-up, savage attacks are inflicting record casualties on civilians and military and enemy infiltration has intensified 10 times over the pre-Paris figure. Talking peace while escalating killing is strictly by the Communist rule-book, as witness the 2 years of negotiations during which 20,000 lives were lost before a settlement was reached in Korea. . . . *The Citizens' Committee for Peace with Freedom in Vietnam*, headed by ex-U.S. Sen. Paul Douglas (D-Ill.), numbers among its members former President Eisenhower, Dr. James B. Conant, Archbishop Robert E. Lucey and Generals Omar Bradley and Lucius Clay. *They caution:* 1) U.S. thinks of negotiations as a road to peace but Ho Chi Minh regards them as another way to fight the war; 2) Americans should not be deceived or discouraged by Communist rhetoric; 3) Hanoi hopes to capitalize on U.S. impatience to end the conflict—such impatience, the committee feels, could adversely affect chances of productive peace talks.

*Crime Waits for No man*—But enactment of the Safe Streets Act might have to, unless the House by-passes conference on the bill and votes to accept it as amended by the Senate. House Judiciary Chairman Celler (D-N.Y.), whose power is sufficient to indefinitely stall action by conferees, warns he will kill the bill in conference rather than permit the Senate version to become law. Senators voted 72-4 for the bill in which they overruled Supreme Court decisions on confessions and police line-up identifications which hamper law enforcement; banned interstate sale of rifles and shotguns; approved court-supervised use of wiretapping by law agencies. With a crime explosion of 88% in the last 7 years, many feel the Safe Streets Act deserves urgent priority.

Minshall Truth in Negotiations bill was passed by the House May 6, now awaits action in the Senate Committee on Armed Services. My legislation would require Defense Department auditors to examine books of military contractors for over-charges. Resulting refunds to the government—and savings to the taxpayers—could run into hundreds of millions of dollars if this measure is enacted.

*Poor Peoples' Campaign* is well established in its plywood tent city near the Lincoln Memorial, appears permanent despite discomfort, crowding and vagaries of Washington weather. A small delegation from the Cleveland area called on me, but failed to return at my invitation for a lengthier visit. I had hoped to discuss with them two bills I

have introduced to help alleviate poverty problems—H.R. 8881, to create a National Home Ownership Foundation to aid low-income families to finance home purchases, and H.R. 17145 to establish a Commission on Hunger . . . Most of those involved in the Poor Peoples' Campaign appear to be sincere, but a few militants in the group keep the Nation's Capital on the alert for any signs of violence.

Did you know? For the first time since 1825, the House of Representatives may be called upon to elect the President of the United States next year—if none of the candidates receives a majority of the Electoral votes. In this case the Constitution provides that each State shall have one vote in the House for the Presidency; the Senate would determine the Vice Presidency.

*Vacationers!* While my limited supply lasts my office has available a useful guide for those of you planning a summer camping trip. The 1968 National Park System Directory lists 571 campgrounds—28,115 camping sites in 78 national parks, seasons for each area, facilities, and duration of stay permitted.

*Watch for Minshall Opinion Poll Results—* Thousands of returns have been received and continue to pour into my office daily. They are being data processed and results will be sent to you in a future mailing.

Cleveland office: 2951 New Federal Office Bldg., 522-4382.

Washington office: 2243 Rayburn House Office Bldg., Area Code 202—225-5731.

MRS. MARY V. MISH

## HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, countless Marylanders were saddened by the sudden death last Saturday of Mrs. Mary V. Mish, without a doubt one of the foremost citizens of Washington County, Md., and neighboring Berkeley County, W. Va.

Mrs. Mish was a woman of lively intelligence, tremendous energy, and deep commitment to the future of the Potomac Valley. As a historian, she was fascinated by the rich past of the valley, and believed that this heritage should be made visible and tangible for present and future generations. Acting on this conviction, she was the moving force behind the successful effort to restore the Jonathan Hager House in Hagerstown, spearheaded the construction and development of the Hager Museum, restored and cataloged all of the artifacts in the museum, and supervised the archeological explorations on that property. For this work she received statewide applause in 1962, when she was awarded the Maryland Heritage Award.

In addition to her work on the Hager House, Mrs. Mish was largely responsible for many other achievements, including the restoration of Gen. Adam Stephen's home in Martinsburg, the development of the Maryland part of the Harpers Ferry National Monument, and planning for the Fort Frederick Bicentennial. Through these and many other efforts she set an example of creative involvement which challenged and inspired her many friends and fellow citizens. Her leadership and counsel were highly valued, and

will be sorely missed, by her neighbors and friends, and by everyone active in the cause of preserving the natural and historic resources of the Potomac Basin.

Mrs. Mathias and I extend our deepest sympathies to Mr. Frank W. Mish, Sr., and their son, Mr. Roy V. Mish.

I include in the RECORD an editorial from the Hagerstown Morning Herald of June 4, and an article from the Morning Herald of June 3:

[From the Hagerstown (Md.) Morning Herald, June 4, 1968]

### SHE WILL BE MISSED

We guess you could say that the death of just about anyone is "untimely."

But in the case of Mrs. Mary V. Mish the word comes out of the realm of cliché and into the category of sad reality.

To say that someone who has died will be missed is another cliché—and again, in the case of Mary V. Mish, it is now sad reality.

She was a woman of unflinching zeal and dedication to the cause of honoring this area's heritage.

Without her the restoration of the Jonathan Hager house might never have been accomplished.

Without her, neighboring Martinsburg might never have restored the home of its founder, Gen. Adam Stephen.

She was a woman who didn't just talk about "how nice it would be" if such and such a thing were done.

She went out and worked and saw that the things were done.

Yes, she will be missed. And that's no cliché.

[From the Hagerstown (Md.) Morning Herald, June 3, 1968]

### MRS. MARY MISH, RESTORER OF HAGER HOUSE, DIES AT 63

Mrs. Mary V. Mish, prominent Maryland and West Virginia historian, died Saturday morning. She was 63.

Her body was found on the West Virginia Bank of the Potomac under the Rt. 11 bridge leading to Williamsport. Dr. Claude Thomas, Berkeley County coroner, attributed the cause of death to a broken neck.

Mrs. Mish received state-wide acclaim in 1962 when she was presented the Maryland Heritage Award for an almost singlehanded effort leading to the restoration of the Jonathan Hager House at City Park.

She followed up the restoration by spearheading the construction and outfitting of the Hager Museum. She took charge of archaeological digging on the Hager property. Mrs. Mish reconditioned and catalogued all of the artifacts on display.

In Martinsburg, the home of Gen. Adam Stephen, the town's founder, was recently restored. Again the sparkplug behind the work was Mrs. Mish.

Active in the Washington County and Berkeley County Historical Societies, she was the natural choice to take charge of the Ft. Frederick Bicentennial.

Mrs. Mish did most of the deed research and was instrumental in acquiring the Maryland acreage for the Harpers Ferry National Monument.

She said she was proud of the fact that the Hager Museum she helped to make a reality was built entirely with local and private funds.

A plaque in the museum stands as a modest memorial to the efforts of Mrs. Mish who will stand as, perhaps, the individual who contributed most to the preservation of Hagerstown's heritage.

A native of New York, she was the daughter of Roy T. and Mary Wheeler Vernon.

She is survived by her husband, Frank W. Mish Sr. of Maidstone-on-the-Potomac and a son, Roy V., at home.

Services will be held Tuesday at St. John's Episcopal Church, Fr. Joseph D. Knisely will officiate.

Burial will be in St. Paul's Cemetery. The family will receive friends at the Rouzer Funeral Home this evening from 7 to 9. It is requested that flowers be omitted.

## REA ESSAY WINNERS IN NEBRASKA

### HON. ROBERT V. DENNEY

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. DENNEY. Mr. Speaker, annually a statewide essay contest is sponsored by the Nebraska Rural Electric Association on "What Rural Electrification Means to Me and My Community." It is my privilege today to insert in the RECORD the winning essays of six of the State winners who reside in my congressional district. Next week, these winners, along with others from Nebraska, will travel to Washington to see their Government in operation as part of their prize for submitting winning essays.

The essays follow:

#### THE VALUE OF RURAL ELECTRIFICATION IN OUR HOME AND COMMUNITY

(By Paula Magers, age, 16; grade, 11; school, Wheatland High School, Madrid, Nebr.; name of father, Dale Magers, Elsie, Nebr.; contestant sponsored by the Midwest Electric Membership Corp., Grant, Nebr., in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association)

How would you like to have a hard working friend always at your side, helping with most every task that needs to be done? Rural people of Nebraska gained such a friend—electricity—in 1936 when through the efforts of Senator George W. Norris and Representative Sam Rayburn, the Rural Electrification Act was passed. This act was signed by President Franklin Roosevelt and by its provision and through the federal loan program, electricity became available at a reasonably low cost.

Rural electrification didn't just happen, it was the result of hard work of dedicated men who wanted to help the farmer to a higher standard of living. The rural electrification program is comprised of a number of component parts, all engaged in the non-profit activity of providing electricity for rural areas. However, the one part that we are most interested in is the member-owned and operated cooperatives that furnish electricity to area farmers. These local systems are faced with the problem of keeping the lines hot with a continuous flow of electricity and since there are now 95.2% more electrified farms than there were in 1923, we can see what a big job they have.

It's hard to imagine the drastic change which electricity brought to the life of the farmer, but for a few minutes let's try to do just that. The year is 1920 and Rip Van Farmer has just finished his daily routine of milking and feeding by hand as the last beam of sunshine fades over the hills, he reads the previous days news by the light of a kerosene lamp. At last Rip, fatigued by the day's work, dozes off into a deep sleep.

On awakening, Rip finds himself surrounded by a number of strange things. In place of his kerosene lamp sets an electric lamp emitting light that illuminates the room. Also, on the table sets a small radio bringing the news of the world into the home instantaneously. Outside Rip finds the countryside lined with poles comprising the elec-

tric light line. In his barn he finds an electric milker doing the job in minutes that had taken him an hour to do some twenty years before. Rip also finds his feeding being done with the push of a button by an automatic feeder. So are the changes which electricity has brought to the life of the farmer, changes which today are no longer considered a luxury, but a necessity.

I remember many times when the use of electric heat bulbs has meant the difference between life and death of a number of baby animals and thus the difference between profit and loss for my father. Electricity on our farm has not only enabled us to enjoy all of its luxuries, but it has cut down the cost of repairs and maintenance of our machinery with the aid of our electric welders.

As the ever-growing demand for electric power—which is doubling every seven years in rural areas—continues, there is a need for all farmers to work with their REA in every way they can, for without electricity, rural communities would become paralyzed—unable to compete in this modern world of progress.

#### THE VALUE OF RURAL ELECTRIFICATION TO MY HOME AND COMMUNITY

(By Duane Stevenson; age, 16; grade, 11; school, Farwell High School; name of father, Duane Stevenson, Jr., Farwell, Nebr.; contestant sponsored by Howard Greeley Rural Public Power District, St. Paul, Nebr., in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association)

The actual value of electricity in our homes and to our community is a long story. The beginning of electricity started back in the 1890's. The transition from the coal oil lamp to the light bulb didn't come about in one step. It came about gradually.

But just imagine what would happen to us if we had no electric power. We live in an age of electricity. Electricity makes man the master in his own environment, and adds strength to his hands. Capacity of a man's muscles is limited, thus through electricity he becomes powerful.

The value of electricity to the home and community stand about equal. Electricity in the home makes it a cleaner and more pleasant place to live in, while it helps to make the community more attractive to visitors. Using the telephone provides us with communication to our neighbors and in case of an emergency. Electricity helps to send and receive messages faster without so much delay. In a way you can say that electricity saves lives and destroys them.

If we didn't have electricity this world would be in a bad position, so we owe our thanks to Thomas Edison. Don't you agree?

The Rural Electrification Administration was established by Congress on May 11, 1935. The Rural Electrification Act of 1936 was signed by Franklin D. Roosevelt which transformed the Administration into an agency for the purpose of granting loans to various organizations so they can build and operate generators and power lines. The R.E.A. is given authority by Congress to make loans for telephone service, and in turn Congress determines the amount of money the R.E.A. can lend each year. In 1939 the R.E.A. was put under the direction of the Department of Agriculture. The R.E.A. does not own, build, or operate any electric power facilities.

The real purpose of electricity is to make man's way of life simpler and better. If it weren't for electricity we would have to go out and chop wood by hand to heat our rooms and to cook our meals. We think it is an inconvenience when the electricity goes off for a little while and we have to do some of the things by hand. What would it be like if we had to do some of that back breaking work by hand, day in and day out? Oh boy, would we complain.

Our grandparents and some of our parents probably know what it was like to eat their meals and go to bed by candle light. We are in a way privileged to have such nice conveniences, but in another way some people don't appreciate them and they are taking these things as a matter of course, every day. Then suddenly the lights go off and we really know how important electricity can mean to us in our hurried way of life.

#### WHAT RURAL ELECTRIFICATION MEANS TO ME AND MY COMMUNITY

(By Nikki Dee Nickel; age, 16; grade, 11; school, St. Paul High School; name of father, Loyal Nickel, St. Paul, Nebr.; contestant sponsored by Howard Greeley Rural Public Power District, St. Paul, Nebr., in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association)

The vanity of today's society has become unsurmountable. Many people in these United States are born into a world of extreme luxury, but never once do they pause, in their ritual of life, to give thanks for those advantages which each has in his possession.

I am ashamed to divulge the fact that, I too, am one of these ungrateful creatures. I merely accept these items which surround me. Each day I strive to accomplish some new feat, never once stopping to consider "why" I am able to do that which I have done.

The Heavenly Father has blessed all people inhabiting this Earth with a time to work, known as day, a time to rest, known as night, a period of extreme warmth, known as summer, and a period of coldness, known as winter. But if each man, in the midst of millions, is to progress to the point where his name will be a name of glory, more than those meager time periods will be needed. So each of us must rely upon a source other than that which the good Lord has provided for us. The Rural Electric Association is that source to which I am referring.

This organization has taken it upon itself to be the conqueror of the wilderness. Each power line carries within itself the powers similar to those of the sun; the radiance of light and the warmth of heat.

At a designated time of day, darkness envelops the Earth. In earlier years, the farmer had to put aside his work when that time arrived. Much of his work remained undone.

In late spring the farmer would plant his crops. When the life of each plant finally did begin, the intense heat of summer would often crush out the newborn life.

But these problems were solved for the farmer. The first steps were taken by a man named Thomas Edison. It was through his experiments that facts about electricity were accumulated.

There are two ways of defining the simple word "electricity." One could define it by means of words whose meaning no individual of normal intelligence could understand, such as the following:

"A form of energy generated by friction, induction, or chemical change, and having magnetic, chemical, and radiant effects: it is a property of the basic particles of all matter, consisting of protons and electrons which attract each other."<sup>1</sup>

But I prefer to define it by the use of four simple words: "a source of power." One does not stop to realize exactly what "power" electricity has over your everyday life. If each person will stop and think a moment, as I have just done, about what electricity does for each of us, I am sure we will at once exclaim our thanks to the Rural Electric Association for bringing it into our homes.

<sup>1</sup> Webster's New World Dictionary, College Edition (The World Publishing Co., 1960), p. 466.

Let us take into consideration the basic needs of all men: food, shelter, and clothing. With these three basic elements, men can hope to survive. I will attempt to show you how electricity affects each of these divisions.

When one thinks of food, he thinks of the finished product. Seldom does he think of the food when it was in the original stage and how this original stage survived in its natural habitat. Electricity has provided the power by which the seed is irrigated, and by which the finished product is dried. Augers make the transporting of the seed easier, whether it be used in feeding your cattle or transporting the grain to market for use by others. In the animal line, cattle are often watered by electric motors. How many baby pigs would have died if it wasn't for the electric heating lamps? How would you raise baby chickens if it wasn't for the electric brooder and ventilating fan? When the food comes to our table, how much easier the preparation is with electric knives, toaster, mixers, ranges, refrigerators, can openers, blenders, coffee pots, and on and on and on!

A man's home becomes his castle indeed with electric heating to warm him in the winter and air conditioning to cool him in the summer. A man's life would indeed be dark if it wasn't for the light provided by the REA.

Since the time of Adam and Eve, people have clothed themselves with more than a fig leaf. With the help of sewing machines, washers, dryers, and irons this task has been made considerably easier.

I, as an ungrateful user of electrical facilities, do not realize the stupendous impact the REA has upon my life, until some cold dark night, when but for a few moments, electricity is taken from my life. Then I realize that without this great public service my life would indeed become a dark and dreary existence.

#### THE VALUE OF RURAL ELECTRIFICATION IN OUR HOME AND COMMUNITY

(By Linda Kinsey; age, 16; grade, 11; school, Franklin High School; name of father, Wayne Kinsey, Naponee, Nebr.; contestant sponsored by Franklin County Rural Public Power District, Franklin, Nebr., in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association)

Twenty years ago, my father employed a full time hired man. Today, he and Willie run the farm. Now Willie is not just an ordinary hired hand. He works twenty-four hours a day through wind, rain, and snow for only pennies an hour. Poor Willie doesn't even get Sunday off.

"Willie Wire Hand," known by all as Willie, is a robot. He symbolizes the electric power which is supplied by the Franklin County Rural Public Power District. At first, all his tireless energy came through one small three KV transformer, but because of increased uses for electricity, it now takes two three KV transformers. We can all see that Willie is quite popular.

What does Rural Electrification mean to me and my community? Well what doesn't it mean! On today's farms there are more than one hundred fifty jobs that electricity can do. It enters into my recreation as well as into my work. The only time I don't realize I'm using electricity is when I'm asleep, and then it's my electric blanket that keeps me warm.

We go along from day to day without giving electric power due credit or thanks for all the work it does. Today there are about two million electrically heated homes and it has been estimated that by 1980 there will be nearly nineteen million. By the year 2000, America's electrical needs will require the building of seven additional power systems, each equal in size to that serving America today. Perhaps even someday, electricity will be used to heat the soil and lengthen the

growing season. The success of new advances in agriculture and homemaking will be largely dependent upon a reliable supply of low cost electric power.

Did you ever try to follow a rural electric line to the end? Naturally, it would be quite a task. At times there probably wouldn't even be a road, but at the end, you would find a lonely farmstead benefiting from all the modern conveniences of electricity. Members of the Rural Public Power District share and share alike to provide power and modern conveniences for all farmers and their families.

This fall marks the twentieth anniversary of rural public power in Franklin County. During an average month in 1949, the District purchased 80,800 KWH and sold about 51,000. An operating report from a month in 1968 shows 769,300 KWH sold out of the 922,200 KWH purchased. In 1949, approximately 645 connected consumers purchased electricity from REA, but today the number has risen to more than 1,160. This shows the real value of rural electrification to my community, more electrical energy for an increased number of people.

The Franklin Public Power District can certainly be proud of its record of service for the people of Franklin County. Because the repairmen do such an outstanding job, we seldom, if ever, find ourselves without power. So remember: "In case of trouble on the line call—425-6217, Franklin Nebraska."

#### THE VALUE OF RURAL ELECTRIFICATION

(By Suzanne Geis, age 17; grade 11; school, Seward High School; name of Father, Carl Geis, Seward, Nebr.; contestant sponsored by Seward County Rural Public Power District, Seward, Nebr., in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association)

When grandpa was a small boy reading a book by the kerosene lamp, the word electricity probably had little meaning to him. Today that word is part of our life; a part of our existence.

As recent as the 1920's, rural electricity was an uncommon thing. It was desired by many farmers, but the price for installation was more than most rural people could afford. A line cost from two thousand to three thousand dollars per mile. After the lines were built the power company took title to them. On top of this heavy first cost, farmers usually had to pay more for the electricity they used than did their neighbors in the city. This discouraged the rural people greatly.

Morris L. Cooke, an electrical engineer, was deeply concerned about this high cost of rural electric service. He was determined to find the real cost of distribution of rural electricity. Together with a small staff of engineers, they added up labor and material costs. Their findings showed the cost to be three hundred to fifteen hundred dollars cheaper per mile than had been previously quoted by electric power companies.

With the publication of this data, the depression hit full force and rural electrification was almost at a standstill.

In 1935, by executive order, President Franklin D. Roosevelt created the Rural Electrification Administration (REA). Morris L. Cooke was appointed first REA administrator. The REA was established as a general program of unemployment relief. This relief measure was \$100 million available which was to be put into circulation. By making certain regulations to the first bill passed, the REA became a lending agency; a national business investment.

By 1935, it became apparent that commercial electric companies were not applying for REA loans. In early 1936, Senator George W. Norris of Nebraska, introduced in the Senate the REA bill which was passed by Congress and signed in May by the President. It stated that "loans could be made for the purpose of financing the construction and operation of generating plants, transmission lines, and

distribution lines for the furnishing of electric energy to persons of rural areas who are not receiving central station service." It also provided for loans to finance home wiring and to purchase electric appliances, equipment, and plumbing.

The administration tried to make it clear to the farm people that they must have the initiative to get electricity for their communities. No one could do it for them. This initiative usually rested in the hands of a few local farmers, but this was all that was needed. They encouraged their neighbors and gradually sold most of them on the idea.

The cost of installation was still quite high, so the REA concentrated on finding new and cheaper ways to build rural lines that were simple and sturdy. They were enormously successful. By 1939, lines were being built for an average cost of \$825 per mile. It cost the farmer an average of fifty-five dollars to wire his house and barn.

I suppose it is next to impossible for people who have grown up with electric lights to imagine the deep emotion felt by farm families when their homes were first electrified.

The night the lights came on was forever after an important date in most farm families ranking with marriages and births as an anniversary of importance. In countless homes, the lights remained on all night long, with people getting a good look at the room and each other.

Statistics show that the farm wives put electricity to work before their husbands did. The first appliance they bought was an electric iron. A close second in popularity was the radio, a luxury to the farm home. Not only was it a luxury in that it gave the farm family entertainment but it also brought them closer to the world through this form of communication.

Though the farmers had the electricity, in many cases they did not know how to operate the electrical appliances they had or how to install them. The REA sent out teams in twenty states to help the rural people. The team consisted of a home economist, an agricultural engineer, and a power use man. The Demonstration Farm Equipment Tour of "REA circus" helped educate the farmers also.

With the aid of these workers, the rural people of America were well on their way to enjoying the luxury and betterment of their living conditions. They understood and appreciated the real value of the things electricity could help them in their everyday chores. It could milk cows, saw wood, warm pigs, hatch eggs, brook chicks, sharpen blades, drill holes, and a number of other things. Once they got the hand of it, they could make electricity pump, lift, pull, or turn practically anything.

Electricity changed everything it touched in rural America. In country schools all across the nation, teachers and principals reported that pupils' grades improved remarkably after electricity was installed.

Today almost all of rural America is electrified. In 1963, the REA estimated 97.6 percent of the 3.7 million farms were furnished with electrical power.

Electricity, today, is so much a part of our life we take it for granted. We do not appreciate the important things it does for us or how our lives would be affected without it. But think hard! What would happen to you if right now the electricity all over the world was suddenly shut off, for good?

#### VALUE OF RURAL ELECTRIFICATION IN OUR HOME AND COMMUNITY

(By Marylou Homan; age, 16; grade, 11; school, Aquinas High School; name of father, Leonard Homan, David City, Nebr.; contestant sponsored by Butler County Rural Public Power District, David City, Nebr., in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association)

Mr. Electric Farmer stopped momentarily from his work and rested. He began to look

over his land and crops. His corn was growing tall and strong. His wheat was vibrant and golden in the hot sunshine of the afternoon. The mile was lush in its healthy, deep green color. The alfalfa and clover sweetened the air and were bursting with productivity. He was pleased as he turned his head and saw the irrigation system which made possible these beautiful crops in dry weather.

Then Mr. Electric Farmer turned to look at his farmyard. His eyes glowed with pride as he saw his modern chicken building. He owned 3,000 chickens and most of the labor was done by electrically operated feeding, cleaning, heating, and cooling. He glanced at his modern farm home filled with luxuries unknown to his ancestors. He recalled the pleasant coolness of the air conditioner on hot days and the warmth of the heating system on cold winter days. His wife could care for the family efficiently and easily with the help of the many electrical appliances. The television, radio, and stereo provide his family with many hours of enjoyable relaxation.

Lastly, Mr. Electric Farmer took a long look at the tall poles across the fields and along the side of the road. They stretch endlessly in either direction. The wires connect them and his home and buildings to the rest of the community and world. These wires made all of his modern farming possible. They supply electricity to improve the living conditions of rural, suburban, and city people.

Today, as Mr. Electric Farmer was contemplating, we are experiencing the many benefits of rural electrification. Farmers use electricity to run such labor-saving farm equipment as drills, milking machines, motors, and pumps. On the farm alone there are over 150 jobs that electricity can do. It provides irrigation for crops; pumps water for cattle and home use; provides heat and air conditioning for homes, poultry and livestock buildings; brings entertainment into the home via the television, radio, and stereo; lights the house, farm buildings, and farm yard; automatically feeds livestock with efficiency and provides telephone service. The list goes on and on providing services that aid the economic development of rural communities, local businesses and industries.

The future of rural electrification will reach new magnitude unforeseen at present. Much of our water supply may come from the oceans made ready to use with electrical equipment. Electrical lighting may be used to extend the growing day to optimum length and soil heating may lengthen the growing season. Irrigation may be more automatic and more precisely controlled. Scientists may even be able to predict weather control by electrical means. And an electric car may provide low-cost transportation. These are some of the many things of future electricity. Electricity is an invaluable commodity!

#### REPORT ON INTERGOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE FOR EUROPEAN MIGRATION

### HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, on May 8, 9, and 10, I attended the 31st meeting of the Executive Committee of the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration, in Geneva, Switzerland, as a congressional adviser to the U.S. delegation appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives. Members of the House Committee on the Judiciary have participated in the semiannual sessions of the Council of ICEM and the

Executive Committee meetings regularly since the creation of this 29-member-nation international organization in 1951.

Legislation which enabled the United States to participate in this organization—the Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1962—came from the Committee on the Judiciary. This legislation authorized appropriations for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the U.S. escapee program, the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration, and assistance to refugees generally. Thus, within its jurisdiction the Committee on the Judiciary has been continuously overseeing the operations of ICEM.

It was my privilege to represent the Committee on the Judiciary at this meeting and I would, therefore, like to report to the House my observations and findings.

The impressive record discloses that the Committee has moved over 1,500,000 refugees and migrants to new lands of opportunity.

The May 1968 Executive Committee meeting proved to be a fruitful exchange of ideas as well as the basis for an understanding of the positions of member governments. Discussions disclosed that there is agreement on four very basic issues regarding the need for ICEM and its expertise.

I was pleased to learn that the member governments recognize the continuous usefulness of ICEM and its ability to utilize and adjust its operational capacities to meet the realities of changing conditions. The consensus of opinion is that there is still much unfinished business for ICEM to attend to.

As a result of a review of the scope of ICEM operations, initiated at the suggestion of the congressional advisers at the 25th session of the Council in May 1966, there is a greater focus on the viewpoints of member governments of the usefulness of ICEM and the need to mutually support the three major operational programs.

The governments agreed that there must be an interdependence and parity status for national migration, refugees, and the selective migration program.

There was also agreement to authorize the Director to carry out the movement of non-European refugees if he has received the consent of the members of the Executive Committee and the approval of the countries of departure and destination. Time is often of the essence in the movement of refugees, and this procedure will greatly facilitate operations where and when needed.

I was gratified to learn that there is an apparent understanding among the member governments and an appreciation for the responsibilities assumed by the United States in accepting Cuban refugees and rendering assistance to the refugees in Vietnam. These tremendous responsibilities have forced the United States to curtail its annual contribution to ICEM.

During 1967 ICEM assisted in the movement of 55,824 persons, of whom 20,414 were European nationals and 44,-

410 were refugees. This number of movements exceeded the total in 1966 by 2,214. There was a continuing upward trend for both migrants and refugees throughout 1967.

With respect to national migrants there are several apparent reasons to explain the increase of interest among Europeans to migrate, such as changes in employment opportunities in certain countries, political and social developments in others, and improved facilities for movement and resettlement offered by receiving countries. It is a primary function of ICEM to arrange the transportation of migrants selected under worker programs, family reunion programs, and sponsorship programs. In carrying out this function ICEM offers its facilities to assist in the processing of applications, necessary documentation, pretransport services such as language training and vocational training, in addition to the actual transportation of migrants.

The largest number of migrants were moved to Australia and the increase in movements there can be attributed, to a great degree, to that government's decision to improve financial arrangements for migrants proceeding to Australia. South Africa reported the next highest number of migrants. Fewer of the migrants came from the usual countries of emigration of Italy and Greece, while there was an increase from the Netherlands, Germany, and Austria.

The internal political tensions in several countries of Eastern Europe, and the outbreak of hostilities in the Middle East were the main causes for the increase in the number of refugee movements. There is every reason to believe that these developments will continue to influence and cause a greater number of refugees to seek resettlement.

ICEM has already provided resettlement for 705,368 Europeans and approximately 2,000 non-European refugees, and some 30,000 to 35,000 persons benefit from ICEM's assistance under refugee programs each year. In 1967 a total of 35,410 refugees were moved to resettlement opportunities, exceeding the number moved in 1966 by approximately 5,000. Several thousand refugees of religious and other minority groups from Africa and the Middle East were accorded first-asylum opportunities while being processed for movement to areas of final resettlement.

A total of 11,476 refugees from the Middle East and North Africa were assisted in 1967, compared with 4,929 in 1966. The influx of refugees from Eastern Europe has continued during 1967, and 15,047 persons were registered in Germany, Austria, and Italy, compared with 13,336 in 1966, as asylum seekers. The number of out-of-camp refugees in Austria doubled since 1966.

The acceleration in the process of issuing visas to Cuban refugees in Spain increased movements to the United States from 1,744 in 1966 to 4,161 in 1967 and it is expected that a greater number will be moved during 1968.

In 1967 the attention of member governments was drawn to the fact that the

resettlement of handicapped refugees remained a problem in spite of the extensive work carried out by the voluntary agencies, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees and ICEM. Approximately 531 such refugees still require resettlement and, accordingly, representatives of the UNHCR and the senior medical officer of ICEM visited various countries to discuss resettlement possibilities on a case-by-case basis.

ICEM operates two principal programs to Latin America: The selective migration program for highly skilled workers and professional persons recruited in Europe to meet specific manpower requirements in the developing economies of Latin America and the family reunion and sponsorship program which assists dependents and other relatives to join migrants already in Latin America. A total of 2,665 persons, including a small number of refugees were moved under these programs in 1967. There were 1,018 highly skilled workers, subprofessionals, and professionals moved. In addition to the recruitment and transportation of selective migrants, ICEM cooperates with individual governments in jointly operating reception and placement centers.

During 1967, 20,000 persons contacted ICEM missions regarding possibilities of being accepted for the selective migration programs and some 5,000 actual applications were submitted to Latin America.

Discrepancies in initial salaries and working conditions between Europe and Latin America remain an obstacle and adversely affect recruitment. To overcome these difficulties, ICEM utilizes an adjustment fund to provide financial assistance to certain categories of highly qualified migrants during their initial period of adjustment. This takes the form of installation allowances, salary equalization grants, or dependents' allowances to family members temporarily remaining in Europe. In addition, the integration assistance program covers mainly medical and accident insurance for 1 year until workers qualify for national or other insurance schemes, as well as the cost of placing migrants in employment.

The Executive Committee was faced once again with the recurring problem of trying to balance the financial contributions of the member governments with the increased cost of maintaining the operational programs. The rather sudden upswing in the number of refugee movements, beyond previous projected figures, and the increased costs in servicing the programs will cause a deficit in both the refugee and Latin American programs. It is more than difficult to plan an operation subject to sudden changes with a fixed budget. Nevertheless, ICEM must be complimented for its agility in reducing cost figures where possible, finding new sources of funds while still maintaining a high level of accomplishment.

So long as there is an unstable world and political tension there is need for an organization ready and able to help victims of probable upheavals. ICEM is such an organization.

MEMORIAL DAY: REMEMBER THE  
"PUEBLO"

## HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

[From the Pacific Beach (Calif.) Sentinel, May 30, 1968]

## MEMORIAL DAY: REMEMBER THE "PUEBLO"

(NOTE.—More than 3,000 concerned Americans from all over the United States, Canada and from many other foreign countries have written me personally to express their concern and impatience over this disgraceful and shameful episode. I read each and every letter but am physically incapable of making personal replies—therefore, a committee of volunteers assists me. I am extremely grateful to all who have written me. I do not want our 83 fellow countrymen to be forgotten and forsaken. So I ask ALL Americans to "Remember The Pueblo."—Rose Bucher.)

(By Edward Moore)

In an exclusive interview for The Sentinel on the occasion of Memorial Day, the wife of the Pueblo's Captain made this appeal.

Just about a year ago Captain Lloyd M. Bucher participated in the christening of his ship in Bremerton, Wash. He stood saluting on the platform with other dignitaries May 13, 1967. On January 23 he and his crew were captured along with the ship near Won Son Harbor, North Korea, the same harbor from which the First Marine Division was evacuated when it withdrew from the Chosin Reservoir during the Korean "Police Action."

This week Mrs. Bucher answered questions about the fate of the Pueblo and its men. This strange event is peculiar in that it is being treated like ancient history in many ways, and the men seem to be listed as "living dead."

Q. Have you heard from your husband personally?

A. No. However, I understand there is a tape taken from short wave of my husband's purportedly reading a letter to me.

Q. Are you kept informed of Government activity to free your husband and his crew?

A. To a limited extent—very limited.

Q. How is your project coming along wherein you are communicating with the families of the other crew members?

A. Very well. I have about 65 addresses of crewmen's families. I have obtained these thru efforts of my own. I have answered a good portion and will continue to give them words of encouragement.

Q. Do you feel the Government is doing all it can for the release of the men?

A. No, but I do not have enough information to give an intelligent reply. I do know that 130 days have gone by with no visible success.

Q. What can other citizens do to urge action in the matter?

A. Write your elected representatives and please continue to pray.

Q. How is the "Remember the Pueblo" bumper sticker campaign coming along?

A. Many "Remember the Pueblo" committees are being formed across the nation. Locally our committee has distributed over 4,000.

Q. If these stickers are still available, where can interested people get them?

A. "Remember the Pueblo", P.O. Box 9796, San Diego, Ca. 92109.

The Buchers consider themselves San Diegans, having resided in the North Shores area for some time. In speeches she gives around the country, she refers to San Diego as "Our beloved San Diego."

## HAPPENINGS IN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

(By David Lewis)

Senators Kennedy and McCarthy—fighting to the last for California's 174 delegates to the Democratic National Convention—have released last minute timetables for visits to San Diego prior to Tuesday's presidential primary.

McCarthy is due here tomorrow at 11:15 a.m. at Lindbergh Field. He will leave immediately for the U. S. Grant Hotel where he has scheduled a press conference for 11:30.

McCarthy will speak at noon at the Community Concourse Plaza, then leave an hour later. Tentative plans the El Cortez Hotel.

His stop here will be on the last day before the primary in the last state holding a primary. Kennedy's campaign began two and a half months ago on Mar. 16 and has taken him to Indiana, the District of Columbia, Nebraska, Oregon, South Dakota, and California in search of support for his presidential candidacy.

Kennedy and his wife will be honored at an 8 p.m. reception at the El Cortez's International Room. Kennedy will arrive here by chartered jet for his third campaign visit.

## THE DAY OUR FLAG SPOKE

## HON. FRED SCHWENGL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. SCHWENGL. Mr. Speaker, George T. Nickolas of Davenport, Iowa, has written a perceptive article on "Our Flag." Mr. Nickolas is a past State commander of the Disabled American Veterans of Iowa, and a 1968 winner of the Freedoms Foundation George Washington Honor Medal Award.

I commend his article to the attention of the House:

## THE DAY OUR FLAG SPOKE

(By George T. Nickolas)

The other day as I watched our Flag fluttering in the breeze, I was amazed to hear its cordial salutation: "Good morning, Citizen!"

I was taken by surprise, and not knowing what to say, could only stammer, because what does one say to a Flag?

"You seem disturbed as you watch me waving in the breeze and I thought that you needed someone to talk to," responded our Flag.

"Yes, Sir!" I replied. "I am disturbed by the actions of my fellow countrymen in the past few years—the abuse of freedoms in the name of freedom, the dishonor that is being wrought upon you, and the lack of patriotic display of your beauty."

"Citizen," the Flag began, "I can tell you of many actions in the past that are equal to the difficulties that are causing the torment in your heart today. I have seen the passing of many generations under my shadow. The Government of our country has changed its complexion many times without violent revolution."

"The democratic process of our country enables all of us to try things which are wrong, but remember that the same process also allows us to discard the wrong process with equal enthusiasm if we find that we cannot make it work."

"Popular election expresses the will of the people, but the basis of that will must be the true democratic spirit which alone can save us from the excesses of the rule of force."

"Should you feel despondent in the future, picture me swinging in the breeze before your eyes and remember our talk this day. Vis-

ualize my bright gleam of color, a symbol of yourself and the great free spirit that makes this nation hum. My stars and my stripes are your dreams and the dreams of all loyal Americans; they are bright with cheer and brilliant with the courage of many great men and women who have fought and died to keep me flying high in the breeze.

"Know you well, that wherever I may stand, I stand for the concept of freedom, the symbol of courage and the nation of dignity, and that I am the world's brightest beacon and hope for liberty, peace and self-government."

"I stand for America because citizens like yourself stand for America. I am in the final sense a reflection," concluded our Flag, "a composite of all the good deeds and actions of the people of this United States of America."

## GI RELIGION

## HON. EDNA F. KELLY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, on April 7, in its program "Faith in Action," the National Broadcasting Co. carried the remarks of Capt. M. M. Witherspoon, ChC, U.S. Navy retired, reporting on the religion of the GI's in Vietnam.

Captain Witherspoon's observations may come as a surprise to some people. They will inspire many. And, hopefully, they will contribute to a thorough reappraisal of our individual positions on the teaching and study of religions in our schools.

I must say that while I have some personal reservations about certain issues raised by Captain Witherspoon, I fully concur with the central thrust of his comments; namely, that we will understand very little about foreign civilizations, and even about many members of our own society, until we learn something about the religions which shape their outlooks, their customs and their traditions.

Mr. Speaker, I am placing Captain Witherspoon's remarks in the RECORD and I know that they will prove of great interest to the membership of the Congress:

## GI RELIGION

(By Capt. M. M. Witherspoon, (ChC), U.S. Navy (retired))

In reporting on the religion of the GI's in Vietnam, we must bear in mind that they are a very different breed from the servicemen of World War II and the Korean conflict. Those were older men, up to 38 years of age, and men who had experienced the Great Depression.

Today's GI's are so young—17, 18, 19 years old, products of the aftermath of a World War, chaotic social conditions and affluence for many. Thrown into a vicious war completely bewildering to them, in a part of the world they had never heard of, fighting with or against little brown men whose language and customs were strange, in a hot, humid mudhole, suffering agonies and cruelties suitable to horror films—strange wonder that American boys are emotionally disturbed.

Everything seems to our GI's insecure; no place is safe, there is no hiding place. All their props have been rudely taken out from under them. Religion is an unknown quantity—little had been taught them at home, nothing in the schools. Almost none of them

has a concept of God. They just feel that death does not end it all. "God must have been watching over me," they say when they escape a rocket.

Without knowledge of religion, deprived of religious education instruction back home, they depend upon their instincts. They want meaningful security in their world of insecurity. They need to feel—they want to take communion at every service—this act gives them comfort, communication, a stability in concrete terms which the religious ritual does not furnish. Aboard ship or in the field, 80 to 90 per cent attend services, sometimes three a week—sometimes every day. The men pray wherever they are—when wounded, while rushing a buddy to the clearing station, when holding a dying comrade. They do not know God, but they feel, they believe in an after-life of some kind.

Undoubtedly the 20 to 30 percent of our troops in Vietnam who are Negroes bring the songs and old-time religion to our chapels. A young Negro in the Marine Corps in Vietnam told me that he felt closer to God than ever before. At home he had been a member of the Church of Christ. He said the men in Echo Company stopped to pray many times right where they were when the battle was going against them. He credited the Marine Corps with giving him a better outlook on life. In his regiment he said there was no discrimination; they knew they had a job to do, and they worked as one to accomplish the task and to help each other survive.

It may well be that the Negro veterans will adjust better than the white ones. Many of them for the first time have been treated as men, as equals. They have been given training and responsibilities which they have discharged most honorably. They have escaped from the discrimination that used to embitter their lives. They see a chance now to be in the sun. They are proud of themselves because they know in their hearts they have done a fine job and lived up to the high requirements of the service. They have their God with them, although they have very little idea of religion.

#### GOD IS REAL TO VIETNAM GI'S

Our men were outraged when Time magazine on its front cover page headlined, "God Is Dead." That really caused quite a stir among the troops. Like the Russian astronaut who reported that he hadn't seen God or angels in outer space, the GI's haven't seen God, but they do feel His presence.

A chaplain who has served 18 years in the Army reports that men today are more sincere, show more concern in their religious experience. The GI's can't understand the clergy in the States who lead demonstrations, deride our leaders—they do identify with the chaplains who are right in the battle with them. They sense that the chaplains don't have to be there, but they're glad they are. Seven or eight have already made the supreme sacrifice despite the GI's efforts to try to protect them. The greater the danger, the higher the morale. While they are fighting for their very existence, they can't understand people back home crying to have money spent on local projects.

There is a courage, an equality, that is the spirit of Civil Rights in action. The GI's are a shining example of how to treat one's fellow man. Short timers, with only days or weeks to go before they are due to go home, will rush to save a buddy, giving up their own lives. They are so tender and gentle with each other when wounded and dying. They like to express their religion in acts of kindness.

#### THE NEED TO TALK

There are insoluble situations that service men can't handle, and they feel the need to talk out the problem with someone sympathetic, not a relative. A Marine First Class paced back and forth in front of my desk in Pensacola, his face a study in anguish.

He finally started to talk—"Today," he said, "is the date my baby's due to be born and I won't even hear about it. Just before I sailed from the Far East—on the way to my ship—my girl told me she was to have my child. She had made the decision on her own. It was too late for me to do anything—I was under orders to leave that night. Arranging a marriage would have involved miles of red tape and endless interviews with Marine Corps officers and Consulate officials. All these months I have worried and wondered—I love that girl."

I wonder if the GI's families realize how the men worry about them. A sailor worried about leaving his mother to run a grocery store. She was very heavy, and he was concerned about her poor legs—having to stand all day and handle so many cartons. Surely neighbors could relieve her for an hour, or neighbor boys could help deliver orders. A Marine Pfc. worried about his parents—he had two younger brothers and a sister. Couldn't friends assure him they were standing by if anything should happen to him?

#### NEED FOR RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

The phrase, "Policing the World," came alive for me the other day when I was visiting our wounded veterans at St. Albans Naval Hospital. Chaplain Arthur Seeland, a Protestant, told me that he had orders to Bahrain, on the Persian Gulf, where our ships are based, on Middle East patrol. Chaplain Kelly, a Catholic, said he had orders to Morocco.

Our sailors and marines and soldiers are assigned to areas of whose culture and religion they haven't the foggiest ideas. That has been one of our big problems in Vietnam, where our GI's have no knowledge of Buddhism, the faith of the majority of the Vietnamese. The soldiers just laugh at the monks. An Episcopal missionary admitted to me that he had never entered a beautiful Buddhist temple, although he had lived nearby for 27 years. Our GI's fan out through the world and see, without seeing, the wonders of religious architecture; the Shinto and Buddhist shrines in Japan, the Moorish mosque in Spain, the glories of Mohammedan mosques in Turkey, the Hindu temples of India, the Greek Orthodox churches, the Roman Catholic cathedrals, the 11th century Orthodox Eastern churches in Russia, with their precious icons.

What mean these glories of religious architecture if our men have no concept of the religions that inspired and sustained them? How many of us know that Buddha founded a cult which teaches that life is intrinsically full of suffering and that the supreme happiness is to be striven for by psychological and ethical self-culture? How many know that Islam, according to Mohammed, is submission to the will of God? Or that Shintoism, in Japan, is a system of nature and ancestor worship?

Do GI's know how our Judeo-Christian religious ideas evolved? How we got our Bible? Who began the Reformation? Who advocated Ecumenism?

The U.S.A. cannot attempt to be a world leader without rudimentary knowledge of the ideas that dominate the cultures of the world. Religion is the heart of the matter. Expressed or felt, it is a man's deepest need. Impossible to understand other nationals if we are ignorant of the beliefs that have supported and sustained them for thousands of years.

The time is late—but the opportunity has been given to increase our knowledge.

In commenting on the Supreme Court's ruling that the public schools can teach about religion, Mr. Justice Tom Clark wrote: "It might well be said that one's education is not complete without a study of comparative religion or the history of religion and its relationship to the advancement of civil-

ization. It certainly may be said that the Bible is worthy of study for its literary and historic qualities. Nothing we have said here indicates that such study of the Bible or of religion, when presented objectively as part of a secular program of education, may not be effected consistent with the First Amendment."

[The Court has not ruled against prayer and Bible reading in all forms in a public school, but only when those forms are part of a state sponsored practice of religion. Any student is free to pray or read his Bible at his own initiative. The Court ruled against school sponsored practice of religion, but the Court encouraged school sponsored study of religion. The difference between "study" and "practice" is indicative of what a public school may and may not do with religion in the curriculum.]

Within the framework of what the court will allow, and what sound educational principles dictate, there are many activities that may be done with religion in the school including special courses, approaches within courses, curriculum enrichment procedures, and moments of meditation, such as Biblical Literature, Biblical History, History of Religions, Comparative Religion, Ethics.]

The Court has opened the door. "The history of man is inseparable from the history of religion," wrote Mr. Justice Black, giving the majority opinion in the case of Engel vs. Vitale.

"It certainly may be said that the Bible is worthy of study for its literary and historic qualities," pronounced Mr. Justice Clark, majority opinion, Abington vs. Schempp.

The religious community, too, has opened the door. "It would be . . . wrong to omit the Bible from courses in literature or to ignore religious influences in the study of art," announced the American Jewish Committee.

"The public schools have an obligation to help individuals develop an intelligent understanding and appreciation of the role of religion in the life of the people of this nation." This was the Policy Statement, issued by the National Council of Churches.

"Since school is a place where a child is being prepared for a great part of his life, it is extremely incongruous not to recognize that religion is a vital part of that life," according to Clyde W. Taylor, National Association of Evangelicals.

"The difficulties inherent in any quest for an 'objective' study of religion are many; but that should not act as a deterrent or be used as an excuse for inaction," from an editorial statement in the Roman Catholic *Commonweal*.

The GI's religion today is unformed, non-nourishing, non-dynamic. It is built on fear, superstition, heavily emotionalized. His frantic prayers, his constant need to be served Communion—these manifestations will disappear once he is out of range of guns, rockets and bombs. There will be a tremendous let-down, followed by a great spirit of restlessness that will drive him on and on—wanting more and more excitement. That fever is already sending many GI's back to Vietnam and the battle lines. My personal experience bears out the truth of this craving for excitement after dangerous war experience. In the spring of 1942 aboard the Wasp, we had the daring mission of delivering Spitfires to Malta, with German subs all around us. Just after this I was ordered to a new base in North Carolina, a spot deep in the woods. I couldn't take it, and begged to be sent to the Aleutians where I could see action.

We must give our men something to live by—vision, that they may not perish. The Soviets have tried for a half century to stamp out religion, but their people are by nature deeply religious. We must teach how religion has inspired men to write, to paint, to sculpture, to sing, to play, to civilize. There is no more fascinating subject that Comparative Religion—that course alone would lead to a

deep understanding of the most diverse nationalities.

We must prepare for the return of our men from Vietnam. They will be restless and emotionally disturbed. They may feel that the U.S.A. is an alien land—our attitudes have changed so much in the past three or four years. America is a permanent revolution—today it seems determined to split between black and white, old and young, rich and poor.

The veterans will be horrified at their fellow Americans' lack of interest in the war; in the passion for luxuries; in the free and easy relation of the sexes; in the deep distrust; in readiness to start a fight, throw a Molotov cocktail, draw a gun.

#### FINALE

At Valley Forge, General George Washington's ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-housed little army suffered every privation, yet they held fast and gave future generations a shining directive to guide us from a handful of poorly organized colonies to a world power.

Our men in South Vietnam have been tested in an even harder school than the Colonial soldiers. They have been policing the world—they have seen feudalism, fascism, communism, military dictatorships, the "haves" and the "have-nots." It seems to me that our GIs, when sent to danger spots, analyze the trouble better and faster than our government. A Marine, on his first day's duty in Santo Domingo, said, "These people need food."

They are coming home—one of these days peace will return. They will find a country with many problems, many things wrong; but a self-critical country that is always striving to better its society. These tested veterans have no illusions—they know the score—they have it in their power to guide us in building a better world. They have been involved—deeply committed in their youth—they know we must get together under one God and build a constructive society, even as in Da Nang, the Marines made bricks of local soil, screened, dampened, pressured and baked in the sun—enough bricks to form a small city.

Let us move forward to build a better America, modelled on the GI attitudes; lack of discrimination, kinship, with one God for all mankind; cooperation in our tasks; recognizing no one as a stranger; concern for our fellow men.

(NOTE.—This talk was prepared for delivery over the NBC's "Faith in Action" program, on Palm Sunday, April 7, 1968. It was aired over some 50 stations.)

### BATTLE RENEWED ON DEFENSE CONTRACT PROFITS

#### HON. JULIA BUTLER HANSEN

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mrs. HANSEN of Washington. Mr. Speaker, in view of the fiscal problems faced at this time, I think it is highly relevant to review the observations on the tax structure made by Adm. H. G. Rickover at this time:

ADMIRAL RICKOVER RENEWS A BATTLE

(By Marquis Childs)

It is unlikely that the residents of Resurrection City, built by the Poor Marchers near the Lincoln Memorial, read the financial pages of the newspapers. News of the Department of Commerce report showing corporate profits for the first quarter at a record annual rate of \$88.8 billion must have seemed to these hapless squatters like an event broadcast from Mars.

The distance that separates these people from the board rooms of Wall Street is measured in light years. Yet the threat of inflation inherent in soaring profits is relevant to the prices they are paying to scrape up food and shelter for a camp-in that seems uncertain both in direction and duration.

While the President implores Congress for a tax increase as the only way to curb inflation and put a brake on prices a partial remedy is conveniently ignored. The remedy was proposed by a one-man assault system who by a rough estimate has angered more of the high and mighty in this Capital than at any time since its founding.

Vice Admiral Hyman G. Rickover, testifying before a House Committee the other day, renewed an old battle that in the past has seen him firing from his private foxhole at the top commanders in the Pentagon. It is Rickover's contention that profits on defense contracts have climbed steadily upward and that unless Congress and the Government do something about them they will go right through the roof.

In his testimony he cited from Moody's Industrials, a sound business publication, figures showing how profits of the five largest defense contractors had risen from the 1963-65 period through 1966-67. The percentage increase from General Dynamics was 22, for General Electric 21.7, United Aircraft 56, Boeing 65. Even Lockheed Aircraft, with a decline of 21.6, showed a jump in earnings per common share of 18.5 for the same period.

Rickover noted that when he made the same charge in 1963 the Defense Department put out a bland press release saying he was in error as Pentagon figures showed an actual decline in defense profits. But the fiery Admiral struck back. He charged that the cost accounting practices of the big defense contractors are so involved that profits are written off as overhead, with the Government in effect paying the cost of plant repairs, tools, manufacturing control techniques, computer programs and a wide range of improvements.

Rickover also put into the record a comparison between profits in defense and civilian industry, with defense firms showing for 1962-65 a 17.5 per cent return on net worth against 10.5 for firms producing for the civilian economy. He quoted from a study made by Washington University in St. Louis, which concludes that "the gap between defense and nondefense profit has indeed widened over the past decade in favor of defense business."

The remedy? As a starter Rickover would have Congress adopt stringent accounting procedures to be followed by all defense contractors. These procedures would be enforced by a greatly strengthened Renegotiation Board so that the obfuscation of enormously complex bookkeeping methods by the giant corporations could not conceal the facts.

Increasingly in recent years the Renegotiation Act has been shot full of loopholes. Its effectiveness in retrieving unjustified profits and scaling back high costs is greatly reduced. In 1952 the board had more than 500 employes while the number today is 180, even though defense procurement has jumped from \$25 billion to nearly \$50 billion.

In words of solemn warning Rickover told the House Banking and Currency Committee that if steps are not taken to monitor defense contracts and check the spiral of profits the giant corporations will become a fourth branch of Government and a branch exerting power without legal responsibility. The influence of the military-industrial-political complex will be all pervasive.

Wright Patman, the Committee chairman, and Rep. Henry Gonzalez put in a bill to carry over Rickover's recommendation for uniform cost and accounting procedures. As it emerged from the Committee it carried merely a recommendation for a study to de-

termine whether a uniform system is feasible. Gonzalez has pressed for a stronger Renegotiation Act and he intends to push for a broad investigation into war profiteering in Vietnam.

How much of the record tide of profits comes out of defense contracts it may be impossible to say. But, if Rickover's estimates are right, hundreds of millions of dollars are at issue.

### A BREAK IN THE CLOUDS

#### HON. JOHN W. WYDLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. WYDLER. Mr. Speaker, a recent editorial in Newsday, a Long Island newspaper, entitled, "A Break in the Clouds" makes the very good point that many of the problems facing America are being solved and that our Nation has a new awareness of what must be done to meet its responsibilities, both at home and abroad.

The point made by the editorial is a good one because we certainly need a sense of balance in discussing our Nation. Those who criticize our Nation often forget that by any objective standard, it is still the greatest and best nation on the face of the earth.

I believe the American people, and my colleagues in Congress should read this editorial and reflect on its words:

#### A BREAK IN THE CLOUDS

America's fortunes seem on the turn.

The U.S. has been denounced for continuing the war in Vietnam, but President Johnson has muted his overseas critics by deciding not to run again, and by transferring the focus of the debate from battlefield to conference table. We were chided for maintaining "a sick society" because of anti-war and student demonstrations, and now many of our international critics face demonstrations of their own. We were criticized for our handling of the grimly serious race problem, but England, our closest kin, now faces its own race crisis.

The whole world, in fact, is feeling a malaise. In France, students hold the Sorbonne while police stand by. President de Gaulle has been shaken by the mutual student-gendarmerie violence that occurred just as the Vietnam peace talks were getting under way in Paris. In Germany there have been student demonstrations of equal violence.

In England, the staunchest trades-union supporters of the Wilson Labor government are vociferously demanding that all further immigration of "blacks"—meaning Indians, Pakistani and West Indians—be barred; that the door be slammed shut. The Birmingham City Council, under Conservative control, has insisted that no more "blacks" be permitted to settle in the city. Those are strong words emanating from a nation with a long history of tolerance.

In Czechoslovakia, the people and the government have rebelled against controls imposed by Moscow, and now challenge the leaders of the Soviet Union by creating a new regime hoping for close ties with the West. Romania has already declared a degree of independence. In Russia itself, students and intellectuals have protested an atmosphere that stultifies them and paralyzes independent thinking.

World society, it is apparent, is in ferment. Nations other than ours face problems with which they are not yet prepared to cope. Yet by contrast America seems to have come

to terms with itself. There is a tacit acceptance of the fact that black slums must be replaced by new housing, that black unemployment must be remedied by new jobs. Slowly, perhaps, Americans are moving toward the belief that hearts and minds must change if blacks are to become partners with whites in our civilization.

America has begun to face up to other nagging problems—the integrity of the dollar, the menace of inflation, the selection of presidential candidates who will speak forthrightly and intelligently on all the issues that now confront us. President Johnson, by taking himself out of contention, has removed much of the abrasiveness and divisiveness that—for right or wrong reasons—so divided and confounded the American people.

There has been a break in the clouds. There is a vision of a better day ahead. Reason has begun to replace unreason in the American debate over what troubles the country. Once the world's scapegoat, the U.S. gradually is becoming a nation more at ease with itself—aware of its troubles and willing to take realistic steps to do something about them. A ray or two of sunshine has begun to find its way through the murk that so long oppresses a country dedicated to greatness.

#### A LAW-ENFORCEMENT PROGRAM FOR WASHINGTON

**HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.**

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, law enforcement in our troubled cities can be significantly improved only by strengthening every aspect of the administration of justice, including not only the police but also the courts and corrections systems. Such reforms are urgently needed if we are to curb soaring crime rates, increase public safety, and restore a sense of assurance to our communities by making justice more swift and far more sure.

Recently, Mr. Gilbert Hahn, Jr., chairman of the District of Columbia Republican Committee, issued a very thoughtful and constructive statement on the immediate problems of law enforcement confronting the Nation's Capital. In addition to recommending massive increases in police manpower and the use of new techniques, Mr. Hahn called for doubling the number of judges, court personnel, prosecutors, and assistants to clear up the tremendous backlog in the District courts and permit really adequate attention to every case.

Acknowledging that such reforms may be expensive, Mr. Hahn declared that "it is a cheap price to pay to save our cities" and to obtain the "massive infusion of calm, confidence, and restraint" which is so essential today. His proposals are practical and perceptive, and could provide the foundation for dramatic improvements in law enforcement and public confidence in Washington.

I would like to commend Mr. Hahn's statement to the attention of my colleagues, and include it in the Record at this point.

I would also like to include an editorial from the Washington Post of June 1, and endorse its conclusion that "Mr.

Hahn has made a real contribution to this community."

The statement and editorial follow:

#### CRIME AND FEAR

(By Gilbert Hahn, Jr., chairman, D.C. Republican Committee)

#### INTRODUCTION

As the newly elected Republican Chairman of the Republican Party of the District of Columbia, I have been working on a program to deal with Crime and Fear in this City. For that reason we welcome the President's proposal to increase by 1,000 the number of police in this City. We had prepared a larger and more comprehensive program, recommending an increase by 3,000, doubling the number of judges and court personnel and the number of prosecutors and subsidiary assistants.

While we feel the President's program is too small and too limited to deal with the problem, we welcome it as a good start and a background against which to propose our own program.

During my campaign for election as Chairman of the Republican Party of the District of Columbia, I conducted a walking tour in all parts of the City. Each afternoon (Saturday and Sunday afternoon), I would take a team of eight walking with me. During this campaign we called on some 10,000 homes in this City. I spoke personally to some 3,500 myself.

My teams and I found out there was only one thing on everybody's mind in this City—crime and fear. It was the same whether the homes were rich or poor—white or black. Far Northwest or Anacostia—Center City or Cleveland Park. I got my fill of talking to voters through locked doors.

After I was named the apparent winner, I began to get letters and telephone calls from people who said they voted for me—reporting assaults and robberies that had taken place in their neighborhood—and what was I going to do about it.

It seemed to me, as Party Chairman, elected directly by the people, I just might be the appropriate minority spokesman and speak out on the issue that is on the mind of us all—crime and fear.

I offer solutions that are forceful and massive but gentle and just. Many people have talked about the subject with criticism. I am going to offer solutions, while rejecting the extremes.

One solution to crime and fear suggests that we must ignore the present systems of violence and lawlessness because these systems are the logical result of centuries of injustice, deprivation and lack of education. This solution calls for civil rights legislation, housing, poverty programs, new schools, and hundreds of other welfare programs over the years to bring some of our citizens up to their just place in society. I do not criticize or reject these programs—we must go on with them—maybe even increase them.

This may cure crime and fear in 1980 but it won't do anything for us today—here and now. It won't help the 10-year-old girl who is raped, the old man who is mugged and robbed in front of his house, or the small grocer who is terrorized, shoplifted into insolvency and then burned out. Literally and figuratively the city is on fire, and the fire must be put out—now!

If we don't put it out now we won't have any city left to save in 1980.

A second solution charges that our Courts are coddling crime and criminals—criticizing the Durham, Mallory, Escobedo, Gideon, and Miranda decisions—in short, all the modern body of criminal law or insanity, confessions, right to counsel at all times during a proceeding, the right to release from prison pending trial without bail, restrictions on listening devices and all the rest.

I have no quarrel with the Senate Crime

Bill. Although some of it may be held unconstitutional, much may prove helpful and useful. But I think it will have no marked effect on crime or fear—almost none.

Basically, all of the new defendants' rights are rights we would wish for ourselves. But what the administration has forgotten the past few years is that all of these rights take more time—sometimes 3 or 4 times as many man-hours.

Now I want to make it crystal clear that I favor most of the programs of social reform that have been proposed. The program that I am about to propose to deal with crime and fear in this city is *in addition* to those programs and *not in place of them*.

The police can catch rioters and looters without shooting, but it takes longer and it takes more people. Suspects can be arrested and searched as well with warrants as without—it just takes longer. The same is true of warning a suspect of his rights, giving him counsel and taking him promptly to a magistrate.

Since I came to the bar 20 years ago, I have taken free criminal cases each year assigned by the Court. My typical "client" was in jail when I first saw him and had been there a month. He had already given a confession—and usually wanted, even against advice, to plead guilty so he could get out of jail and start serving his time in the penitentiary.

This was typical, few cases came to trial—the demands on the police, prosecution and court were small—and the system kept current.

Now, the felony cases before the District Court number over 3,000 a year—and the backlog of cases was 1,100. The U.S. Attorney recently reduced this to 700, but it has taken 12 of the 14 judges of the District Court sitting on nothing but criminal cases to do this. The U.S. Attorney says the average time from arraignment to trial is 4 months but I've seen them take one and two years. The Crime Commission says it thinks but cannot prove that the U.S. Attorney has a current calendar of 700 only because that's all he is indicting.

And with 12 of 14 judges assigned to criminal trials, what is to become of the civil calendar?

In short, because most defendants can get out of jail without bail, awaiting trial, they have no reason to plead guilty—virtually every case goes to trial. The system has bogged down—it cannot handle the flood of cases that feed on the bogged down situation. There is no reason why, in proper cases, defendants should not get out of jail awaiting trial. But, we should see to it that cases come to trial in a few weeks rather than six months or a year.

One in nine defendants, while awaiting trial out of jail, commits one or more other crimes according to the Crime Commission. The public probably believes it is much higher.

Therefore, I propose to double the number of judges, double the number of Assistant U.S. Attorneys and all the necessary personnel of their offices.

This recommendation applies also to the Court of Appeals. Let us make it possible to dispose of appeals in six weeks or less instead of six months or longer.

That's just a starter. Bad as it is—and horrible as the hundreds of vicious crimes, called felonies, murder, rape, arson, grand larceny, shootings, assaults—that is not where the real problem lies.

Let's take a look at the problems of the Court of General Sessions and the criminal division of the Corporation Counsel's office together with the U.S. Attorney. They handle mostly misdemeanors—50,000 a year, not including traffic cases, assaults, petty larceny, looting, shoplifting, gambling, vice, narcotics, drunk and disorderly. In the last 5 years, gangs of youths have started roaming the

streets, mugging, stealing, terrorizing small business, bus drivers, and destroying property.

The criminal division of the Corporation Counsel has 11 attorneys to handle this madness. His recent request for 33 has not been adopted. It has been estimated that a judge of the Court of General Sessions has an average of 2 minutes to give to each case.

It is ridiculous even to wonder whether the Corporation Counsel, the U.S. Attorney, and the Court is coping with this flood—we know they cannot. They can only deal with a small percentage and dismiss charges against the balance. Any wonder that such a defendant returns to the streets with contempt for the law and a temptation to try crime again.

Obviously the judges of the Court of General Sessions should be doubled and if that doesn't work, tripled. The same for the Corporation Counsel and all their clerks.

We cannot deal today with such problems of psychiatric examination and treatment, probation, rehabilitation, juvenile courts and all the rest. They have the same problem.

However, by far the most important part of all is the police. We ask much of our Police Department and we have given them too little with which to work.

First, I propose that the D.C. Police be increased from 3,000 to (not 4,000) but 6,000 officers.

Second, I propose their minimum pay now increased to \$8,000 per year go higher if necessary.

Third, I propose that recruiting go on from the Army and elsewhere—but that all newly recruited officers be required to live in the City.

Fourth, I propose full street lighting for the entire City.

Fifth, I propose that the police implement many of the proposals developed in New York by the Lindsay administration:

1. A 1,000 man special squad for riots and disturbances.
2. More uniformed officers on the streets, especially at night. (John Lindsay is tripling police on the streets of New York at night.)
3. Still more important an increase of *non-uniformed police*. (The criminal wants to know where the uniformed patrolman is as well as you do.)
4. Buttons in telephone boxes so that you can call for help without a dime.
5. More walkie-talkies.
6. Increase in police reserves.
7. Tokens, tickets or passes only on buses—with stations and machines to sell and dispense them at all hours.
8. New ideas such as the use of movie cameras to record violations that the police cannot handle at the moment.

The list is long. I am forming a Committee of the Republican Committee to receive further reports, complaints and suggestions and we will issue a detailed report to the City and Congress. I hope in the future to appear before the City Council and Committees.

I estimate this program will cost between \$50,000,000 and \$60,000,000. I propose that the Federal Government pay the cost.

This is a lot of money, especially if you don't have it, but it's a cheap price to pay to save our cities and the Capital of the United States. We need a massive infusion of calm, confidence and restraint. The great danger is extremes, panic and violence and brutality because of lack of force and confidence.

I want to see a gentle restraint, arrest without shooting, law and order—but with justice.

Ninety percent of crime is committed in the black ghetto against other ghetto residents. It follows that most of this program is for their immediate benefit.

But the real benefit is for us all. This is a grave problem. We have suggested a massive cure.

Washington, D.C. has replaced New York City as the promised land. But, it can't be the promised land, if the real or imagined fear of crime causes our citizens, white and black, to flee the City—to stop investing in the City—and to lose confidence in the City. Let alone prosper and grow, a fearful City cannot even function.

I have offered a balanced solution to the problem.

I am committed to this City. I am committed to programs of social action and to create a viable City by *Republican Urbanism*, but before we can do these things, we must, and will end crime in this City—and now!

[From the Washington Post, June 1, 1968]

#### COMMONSENSE ON CRIME

There is a dry, realistic pragmatism in the approach to law enforcement adopted by Gilbert Hahn in his debut as chairman of the District of Columbia Republican Party. He seems far more interested in putting a stop to crime in the streets of this community than in scoring brownie points in some imagined debate against the Democrats, the Supreme Court or a chimerical *Cosa Nostra*.

Mr. Hahn is fully in favor of the social legislation prescribed as a long-range remedy for the cause of crime, although he has no confidence in its immediate efficacy. And he says he has no quarrel with the Senate crime bill, although he thinks "it will have no marked effect on crime or fear—almost none." But he has a practical politician's interest in doing something now to curb crime in the short run. And he has a practical businessman's recognition that this calls for a dramatic strengthening of the existing agencies designed to cope with crime.

Mr. Hahn would raise the President's bid for an enlarged police force; he thinks police manpower should be doubled from the present 3000 to 6000; the almost total absence of crime in the streets during the period when Federal troops were stationed on every street corner where crime was likely to occur suggests pretty plainly that he knows what he is talking about. "The police can catch rioters and looters without shooting," he remarks, "but it takes longer and it takes more people. Suspects can be arrested and searched as well with warrants as without—it just takes longer. The same is true of warning a suspect of his rights, giving him counsel and taking him promptly to a magistrate."

In addition to more police, the new Republican chairman wants to double the number of judges and double the number of Assistant U.S. Attorneys in order to speed up the administration of justice. He wants to enlarge the personnel available for psychiatric examination and treatment for probation and rehabilitation of convicted persons, so that the penal system will reform rather than train the maladjusted for careers in crime.

He is perfectly well aware that the program he suggests will cost a lot of money—between \$50 million and \$60 million, he estimates. And he is quite right in asserting that "it's a cheap price to pay to save our cities." In terms of real values, moreover, it is far less costly than current legislative proposals to junk the Constitution and prostitute the country's courts. Mr. Hahn has made a real contribution to the community.

#### LEADERS ARE LOSING CONTROL OF POOR PEOPLE'S CAMPAIGN

### HON. THOMAS S. KLEPPE

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. KLEPPE. Mr. Speaker, it is becoming increasingly apparent that the

Poor People's Campaign is serving as a magnet to draw revolutionaries, killers, and common criminals to the Nation's Capital.

The cold-blooded slaying of two young marine officers and the wounding of two of their companions in a Georgetown hamburger shop this week is directly related to the march on Washington. The killers, three young Negroes from California, came here to join the Poor People's Campaign. They were scheduled to move into Resurrection City, according to newspaper reports. Two of them are college students who would scarcely seem to fit into the category of poor people. They are reportedly members of the Black Student Union. The local address they gave police when arrested was that of the New School for Afro-American Thought.

The news of these brutal killings was dwarfed by the assassination of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY. Nevertheless, the results are no less tragic for the families of these young marines who were gunned down while wearing the uniform of their country. The appointment of a Presidential Commission To Study Crime and Violence will do little to assuage the grief of the families involved.

Violence has been no stranger in Resurrection City. Residents have been beaten and robbed by other residents. Last night, Washington newspaper reporters were brutally beaten at the campsite. The pledge that liquor and weapons would not be permitted in Resurrection City has not been honored.

There is mounting fear that the leaders of the Poor People's Campaign have lost control to the militants. There are open breaks among Negroes, Spanish Americans, and Indians participating in the movement. There seems to be little agreement among the leaders of these groups as to what their objectives are. There seems to be even less agreement between the militants and the moderates who make up the dominant Negro leadership.

I was told flatly by James Bevel, one of Rev. Ralph Abernathy's top aides, that their followers would stay on, even though the camping permit expires June 16. A massive march and demonstration is scheduled for June 19.

In view of what is clearly happening in the surcharged atmosphere of Washington, I believe the time has come for the demonstrators to disband. I do not believe the disorganized leadership can maintain order and discipline. I am not at all sure that some of them want to.

I am deeply disturbed by public statements that the tempo of the protests is to be stepped up. We hear calls for "militant, nonviolent civil disobedience" and threats to turn the city upside down unless unspecified demands are met. "The picnic is over," one leader says, implying that much stronger action is in store.

In this kind of a climate, anything could happen. A relatively minor incident could touch off an uncontrollable outbreak. Washington is a powder keg. Bus drivers, victims of more than 200 robberies this year and a recent murder, refuse to carry cash on their night runs. The sharp decline in tourists is reflected in empty hotel rooms and half-filled restaurants. Several conventions sched-

uled for the Capital City have been moved elsewhere. Thousands of individual visitors have canceled hotel reservations. An advertisement sponsored by local businessmen proclaims that "Washington is dying."

Every American has a right to petition his Government for redress of real or imagined grievances. Free speech and the right to protest peacefully should not be questioned. There is, however, no right to threaten, to intimidate, to advocate violence. No citizen has a right to disobey any law which he personally considers "unjust."

Congress is not going to legislate under duress or from behind barricades. I think this should be made clearer than it has up to now.

House passage of the Public Works Committee's bill prohibiting further camping privileges on the Mall would represent a responsible start in this direction.

#### A TRIBUTE TO VERNON X. MILLER

### HON. RAY BLANTON

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, at a Law Day dinner recently here in Washington, D.C., lawyers, judges, and jurists paid tribute to a well-known figure in jurisprudential circles throughout the Nation. The man they honored is Vernon X. Miller, and the event which signified this tribute was the occasion of his retiring as dean of the Catholic University of America's school of law.

Dean Miller is well known in legal and academic circles both here in Washington and throughout the country, as an innovator, a creative scholar, a unique teacher, and an able administrator.

The long, dedicated career of this uncommon man on the American scene is worth noting. He was educated at the University of Minnesota, and received his doctorate degree in law at Yale in 1929. He was an assistant to the late Justice Butler of the U.S. Supreme Court in 1925-26.

Upon leaving his duties with the Supreme Court, Dean Miller embarked upon his teaching career, which has now spanned more than four decades. His mark has been made on many universities across this land, and the fabric of American legal training has a decided notch carved in it from Vernon X. Miller.

He taught law at St. Thomas College in 1926-30; at the University of Oregon, 1930-31; at Marquette University 1931-38. He was a dean of Loyola University at New Orleans from 1945 to 1951 after serving as a professor of law for 7 years at that fine institution. From 1951 to 1954 he served as dean of the Law School of the University of San Francisco from 1951 to 1954, and from July of 1954, he has been a teacher and dean of the Columbus School of Law at Catholic University of America in Washington, D.C.

Perhaps the highlight of Dean Miller's distinguished service to American jurisprudence has been his long, vigorous

work with the Association of American Law Schools, an organization composed of virtually all the accredited law schools in the Nation. His colleagues selected him secretary-treasurer of this organization in 1963 and 1964, and selected him as president in 1965.

Throughout his many years as an administrator, he has always been a teacher first, an administrator second. His rapport with countless students throughout four decades of academic life has made him loved and respected by hundreds of lawyers and judges—many of whom studied under him. It is because of their recognition of his many talents that many of his friends were comforted by the fact that he intends to continue teaching in the future, despite relinquishing his administrative chores. I am told that unless a student takes "Torts" under Dean Miller, they just cannot appreciate his sharp insight into the law, and his keen wit which makes dull law books come alive with interest and meaningful interpretation.

Vernon X. Miller is a unique man, an uncommon man, a man whose dedication to law and people has carved a special place in American jurisprudence. We have all profited from his ability, his concern, his creativity. We look forward to many more productive years of the same as he continues his career as a teacher. It is only fitting that we pause and reflect, and pay tribute to a man who has meant so much to this important profession, and his contributions to our country as well.

#### TOWARD LESS LIBERTY AND LOSS OF FREEDOM

### HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, in the passing of Senator KENNEDY and all its attendant anguish and rightful shock I see much more. There is in this and other events of our day a bell tolling for freedom and liberty as we now know these qualities in America. As citizens have demanded the full expressions of the rights of liberty as individuals, they have not been willing to assume the responsibilities or the duties which these rights imply. Since a right cannot exist without the support of a duty the right must be diminished.

An individual who cannot govern his conduct in accordance with any acceptable standard of taste or any threshold of restraint cannot contribute to a society which believes man can govern themselves. If, as individuals, we cannot or will not practice reasonable restraint we cannot as a people enjoy the maximum of self-government.

Authority by the state must increase to fill the vacuum where the individual abdicates his responsibility and that is what we will be seeing in the days ahead. For a number of years the Supreme Court has widened the scope of individual freedom within the framework of

the law. Too many Americans have demanded freedom to act without and beyond the law. Now the law will be expanded and the individual diminished in his freedom. All because there were too many who wanted to abuse rather than reasonably use their freedom.

Rationalize as you will, justify as you will, the lines of conduct pursued by those who use violence, who, in the exercise of their new freedom trample the rights of others and assume no new burden of duty or responsibility. These are the ones who have become the enemies of the very cause which allowed them their voice, their action. Now the suppression must come. Backward moves our society and it follows as the day the night, when we have proven unready for our gifts they are lost.

So, in losing another great and fine young leader dedicated to what is right in our land and leadership that seeks our finest goals, we mark another turn of the wheel which sets our ship of state backward toward more restraint by the state, less liberty for the individual. For with all our seeking we seek first safety for our lives and security for our property and when our fellows do not readily get it, we turn to the state to demand it.

#### H.R. 17681—TO PROVIDE RENTAL AND COOPERATIVE HOUSING FOR LOW- AND MODERATE-INCOME FAMILIES

### HON. EDNA F. KELLY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I introduced H.R. 17681, "to provide rental and cooperative housing for low- and moderate-income families." My bill would amend section 1(a) title II of the National Housing Act by extending interest-reduction payments on mortgages to include persons presently dwelling in Mitchell-Lama housing developments in New York.

Mr. Speaker, I am sure that we are all aware of the fact that the rapid rise in interest rates over the past several years has created problems for millions of persons. In the field of housing, mortgage costs have risen to a point that may well impede the construction of needed new housing units. The administration has responded to this problem by proposing the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968. Title II of this proposed legislation would make special provisions concerning housing for low- and moderate-income families. One of these provisions permits payment by the Federal Government of interest-reduction payments to mortgagees. These reduction payments would, of course, keep rents at present levels.

However, in the form in which the bill is pending before the House Banking and Currency Committee, the interest reduction provisions apply to future construction. This shortcoming would bar certain Mitchell-Lama housing developments in New York State from receiv-

ing interest-reduction benefits. For example, one such housing complex, Dayton Beach Park, which is a limited-profit cooperative development in Rockaway, Queens, while in existence for several years, does not yet have permanent mortgage financing. Its temporary financing was furnished by the city of New York. The city which will furnish permanent financing must, by law, charge the cooperative the same rate of interest it pays when it borrows money. At the present time, this rate is 5.4 percent. When the occupants of this housing purchased their apartments several years ago, interest costs were 3½ percent. Thus, the \$19 million permanent financing will today cost almost \$400,000 more for the first year. All carrying charges on this housing were estimated on the old interest rates and today, as a result, many of the limited-income occupants find themselves faced with increased costs they cannot possibly afford. Dayton Beach Park is but an example of the problem. There are many other similar situations in New York and throughout the United States, which are adversely affecting many persons living on fixed incomes, pensions, and social security.

Therefore, I urge early action on my bill, H.R. 17681, which would extend interest-reduction payments to all mortgagages dwelling in Mitchell-Lama housing developments.

#### REGISTERED FARMERS, INC.

### HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Herschel C. Ligon, 211 East Main Street, Lebanon, Tenn., president of the Registered Farmers, Inc., recently testified before the House Agriculture Committee.

His statement as well as his organization present new ideas and offer a new promise to the farmer.

I feel many of our colleagues will find his statement of interest and include it in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF HERSCHEL C. LIGON, PRESIDENT, REGISTERED FARMERS, INC., LEBANON, TENN., BEFORE THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE, MAY 1, 1968

Gentlemen, am honored that you have invited me, a farmer, to testify before you. I think, I represent the only organization in the world, in which you have to be a farmer, to be a member.

My roots are deep in agriculture—my farm, my father's farm and my sister's farm have never belonged to anybody but my family—they were granted from the government of North Carolina. My father's house is the oldest house in Wilson County, having been built in the first administration of George Washington.

One thing that really bothers me is, if this farm economy doesn't change immediately, I will be the last farmer of this family because I can't conscientiously encourage my

boys to farm, because they can't make a living—one enters college this fall and the other enters high school. Both are excellent farmers—both would like to be farmers. They can do practically anything on the farm I can—along with my 77 year old father we own and operate 250 acres, breeding registered Poland Chinas, Polled Shorthorns and Hampshire sheep and use no hired labor. Every year it gets harder to make a living and we get deeper in debt. If my wife didn't have a part-time bookkeeping job, we couldn't wear decent clothes.

I am proud of my government—think we have the greatest in the world—I am proud I gave it four years of my time in World War II, and many years since in the National Guard and Army Reserve. If my Commander-in-Chief asked me to, I would be willing to come out of retirement and go to Viet Nam.

I well remember the depression of the thirties—my father sold hogs for 3 cents per pound, and I remember his receiving a cream check for a total of 3 cents.

I was most happy to see President Roosevelt begin the federal farm program, which saved the nation's economy by saving the farmer's economy, but for a number of years our federal government has been putting the Registered Farmers out of business. When I use the term Registered Farmers, I mean people who earn at least 75% of their total income from farming.

The federal government has taken all the risk, and I guess it has more than any other profession, out of farming for nonregistered farmers. They can't lose—all they lose on their farming operation counter-balance the profit they make on their other businesses, putting them in a lower income tax bracket. In 1965, of the 119 millionaires farming, only 16 paid income tax. Over half the people with a \$50,000 or more annual income, with farming operations, showed a loss on their income tax return.

Under the federal farm program, a non-registered farmer can buy a woods, charge the cleaning up off his income tax and under the ASCS program get the federal government to terrace, lime, fertilize, seed, build a pond and fence it. Then he goes to the market with cattle in competition to us Registered Farmers, who don't have the capital to participate in the ASCS program. I repeat, the non-registered farmer can't lose, but when the Registered Farmer loses, it is gone.

The nation's average taxpayer is tired of paying taxes every week, and the non-registered farmer using farming for tax write-off. The nation's average taxpayer is also tired of his taxes financing a federal farm program that is putting Registered Farmers out of business, when it was originally established to assist them.

We Registered Farmers propose the federal government adopt the three following proposals as a solution to the farm problem:

1. 100% parity of price for Registered Farmers agriculture products produced and or finished by them and sold on established markets by grade.
2. Not allow non-registered farmers to participate in the federal farm program.
3. Not allow non-registered farmers to use farming as tax write-off.

I have seen it proven from the President's Economic Report that a dollar spent by a farmer puts seven dollars into the nation's economy. I have also seen it proven, from the President's Economic Report, that for the past 16 years, the nation's farmers have been underpaid 422 billion dollars. Multiply that by seven and you get two trillion nine hundred and fifty-four billion dollars the nation's economy has been shorted—to make up for

this, the nation had to go in debt a thousand billion.

When farmers have money to spend, much is spent with small business, which is also suffering from this economic situation.

In 1966, all farmers in the country received \$3,281,621,070 in ASCS payments. I ask you, what percent of that went to Registered Farmers? I think you will find only a small percentage.

Everybody tells us that RF's solution to the farm problem is the fairest and simplest they have heard—nobody is fighting us. Many ask how many members have we? We are a new organization, and will never have many members, because there are not many people eligible for membership, and this is good because nobody will ever get all farmers to join one organization. The many many average taxpayers will help get this program adopted because they are in sympathy with Registered Farmers, and they want their tax money put to a better use and they don't want nonregistered farmers using farming for tax write-off.

We RF think, after maybe five years of receiving 100% parity of price and the elimination of the unfair competition, we will get back on a supply and demand that will bring balanced economy, and we will not have to have a federal farm program.

If surpluses has been the problem, I think you will find most of the surpluses are produced by non-registered farmers, because Registered Farmers do not have the finances and can't afford the risk. I also think you will find surpluses increase when prices are low—100% parity of price will take care of this. Registered Farmers never try to get rich—all they want is a decent living for their family.

It has been said, we have too many farmers. We do not have a surplus of farmers, we have a surplus of people farming.

Many say the farmer has to become more efficient. I have had experience in other professions besides farming—I say parity of income improves efficiency more than any other thing.

The morale of the Registered Farmer is about as low as it has ever been—something has to be done now to save the family farms, because they go with the American way of life—like pie goes with a picnic.

Many of this nation's greatest leaders have come from the family farm, and speaking of this, some of the nation's leading law-makers have farms, but we all know they are the caliber of people that will put first what is best for their nation in solving the farm problem.

I am convinced, as long as there is a world, we will have wars—the best way for us to keep from losing one is to produce the quality soldier it takes to win them—there is no better source of supply than the family farm. The late Sgt. Alvin C. York is an example.

The strongest and greatest society is a balanced society—we need farm boys and girls to keep this balance. How many farm reared boys and girls do you find in the student riots?

The greatest product from the family farm is one that not enough people think about, that is, boys and girls that will work, know how to work, and above all have good character.

Since preparing this statement, have been informed my older son Bill, has been chosen for the second consecutive year, Middle Tennessee's Outstanding FFA Livestock Farmer with a \$11,000 inventory. His closest two competitors had \$90,000 and \$150,000 inventories respectively.